DEC 9 1921

Vol. XXVIII DECEMBER, 1921 No. 12

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

DEC-9 1921
UNIV. OF MICH.

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT NINTH STREET AND MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

10 CENTS PER COPY $1.00 PER YEAR

FEDERAL
Bicycle Tires

CORD
SINGLE TUBE

CORD RUGGED
DOUBLE CLINCHER

Know how the tire is made

Then you will know why it is a source of satisfaction to both mind and body to ride a bicycle equipped with Federal Bicycle Tires.

You want a serviceable, comfortable-riding bicycle tire—and that's what we make in cord or fabric single tube, double or single clincher; black, red, blue, or white effectual non-skid tread designs.

No careless workmanship gets by us—or you. No poor quality, cheap construction, or lack of supervision.

Ask a reputable dealer who handles them; he will answer your inquiries.

THE FEDERAL RUBBER CO.
OF ILLINOIS

Factory: Cudahy, Wis.

American Federationist

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Vol. XXVIII DECEMBER, 1921 No. 12

Education Civilization's Only Hope

By G. W. PERKINS
President, Cigarmakers' International Union

TRUE knowledge is mankind's greatest benefactor. False teaching is civilization's greatest handicap. Education and the problem of civilization are one and inseparable. A substantial, true, and indissolvable civilization requires broadness of mind and depth of vision, which should conserve the interests of all regardless of class or classes, and that will develop a condition in life out of which the great masses may advance mentally, physically, morally and spiritually, along scientific lines.

The trade union movement, through increased wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions is developing the physical well-being of the masses and in a measure is also developing the minds towards a broader and more comprehensive view of economic, social and political conditions.

It is becoming more and more the duty of the state to assist in the proper educational development of the masses. We are approaching a serious condition of affairs, both economic and political, that will require the combined judgment and united action of all of our people to avert a danger to our advancing civilization even in our own country.

The specialization steadily going on in all industries has practically eliminated the apprenticeship system, under which the beginner really obtained a fundamental, clear concept of the industry in which he was indentured. Today the beginner is put at one particular part or work in the industry and learns nothing of the general trade, as he did under former conditions. The result is already felt and will be more keenly felt as this practice proceeds to its logical conclusions.

It is claimed that 67 per cent of the people engaged in manufacturing fail. One of the direct causes of failure is the incompetency of the manufacturer, the superintendent, and foreman. This is partly due to the gradual

Efficiency in industry is of paramount importance. The development of and adherence to this principle will enable us to make wonderful progress in a higher, better, safer and more permanent civilization. Society, the state, and our people can not afford to ignore the fundamental principles which make for sucess.

elimination of those who served the old time apprenticeship in industries. The workers should not be asked to carry the burden of the incompetency of employers, nor should we be asked to reduce wages to a point whereby such incompetents may continue in business.

On the question of efficiency capital must supply its share, labor will do its part. Neither should the industrial workers alone be asked to carry the burden of industrial schools and colleges that will supply the dearth of competent material, and we hold that it becomes the duty of society to do so. Such schools and colleges should have agreed upon text books which teach the true philosophy of industrial and political economy, scientifically developed, and should discard false doctrines conceived and only partly true a hundred years or more ago, which in no wise fit into the science of economics of today.

This will have to be done if the present controlling races are to maintain their ascendency and growing civilization. Nothing can save the leadership, economic, political, and social, of these races without the aid of the constructive trade union movement. Races must remain strong and virile to maintain control and leadership in advancing civilization. Education, good wages, and good working conditions are the paramount means of accomplishing this end. Reduce wages, lengthen hours of labor, and destroy healthful working conditions, and the stamina, strength, manhood and power of resistence of mankind are correspondingly reduced.

The leadership of the world will be vested in the hands of the people who, regardless of color, are the strongest morally, mentally, and physically. Leadership in economics, civilization, and social advancement is now vested in the white races living in the Temperate Zones. This leadership will naturally remain in the Temperate Zones and will ultimately go to the races, white or colored, which develop individually and en masse, the strongest people intellectually, physically, morally and spiritually, and that stop wasting their own blood and destroying their own kind through internecine strife in unnecessary devastating wars.

In this development the trade union movement, here and elsewhere, will be a guiding, potential, and propelling force. If the autocrat and dollar chasing clan were to be successful in their efforts to destroy the constructive trade union movement, it would be the direct cause of handing the control and leadership of mankind's destiny to the people or races, which foster,

protect, educate, and encourage the masses. The constructive trade union movement is the only sure means by which the stamina, vigor, and power of resistance can be maintained and advanced in the masses.

Efficiency in industry is of paramount importance. The development of and adherence to this principle will enable us to make wonderful progress in a higher, better, safer and more permanent civilization. Society, the state, and our people can not afford to ignore the fundamental principles which make for success.

We can not afford to ignore the fact that the Brown and Yellow races are making substantial gains along the lines that develop the power of resistence and the ability to conquer. The Brown and Yellow races constitute the great bulk of the population of the world, but they have not the land, and some day they must find land enough to sustain their rapidly increasing populations.

The trade union movement has and will continue to develop a feeling of tolerance and good fellowship among the masses regardless of race, color or religion, or where located. It will moreover continue to demand that the state assist in our efforts to bring about a better and higher mental standard, especially in economics.

The race or nation which ignores true economics and neglects to do full justice to the great mass of the people intellectually and physically is running the risk of dooming coming generations to hopeless despair.

Attention is called to the report of the Legislative Committee, published in this issue. The report points out several facts that should be known to all wage earners and their sympathizers. Members of Congress would also gain information by reading the report. The underhand attempt to destroy the Department of Labor, to permit the importation of coolies under bond and as debt slaves into Hawaii, and the evident desire to fix wages for the miners through a "federal coal act" should awaken the people of our country as well as they have Labor, to the menaces lurking in proposed legislation. The Legislative Committee, while pointing out the seriousness of the various anti-labor campaigns in existence, believes that there are a sufficient number of friends of labor and the people in Congress to defeat them. This desirable situation, they declare, is the outcome of the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor. They also recommend that the greatest publicity be given to the various bills before Congress that are inimical to Labor and the people. In order to carry out this recommendation it is suggested that the official journals, the labor press and all friendly newspapers give as wide publicity as possible to the efforts of the reactionaries to enact pernicious legislation.

By order of the Executive Council, the American Federation of Labor placed a wreath on the bier of America's unknown soldier in the national capitol as a mark of labor's honor and respect. A committee representing the council took the wreath to the capitol and there joined in the tribute paid by the throngs that passed by the casket containing the body of the unknown who typified America's great sacrifice and the idealism which characterized that sacrifice.

A Magnificent Proposal

Resolution Adopted by Unanimous Vote by the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, at A. F. of L. Headquarters, November 19, 1921

RESOLVED, That the magnificent proposal for the reduction and limitation of naval armament laid before the International Conference on Limitation of Armaments by the American delegation on behalf of the government and the people of the United States be endorsed in most emphatic terms and in relation thereto the following be adopted as expressive of our convictions upon the issues as they stand:

The American delegation spoke for America in proposing the wholesale destruction of war ships.

The American delegation spoke for America in proposing the absolute cessation of warship construction for a period of ten years.

America is unitedly in favor of those proposals.

America, we believe, is willing and ready to place its full trust in the methods of democracy and in the efficacy and integrity of democracy.

America, we trust, will continue on the inspiring course laid down at the outset by its delegation, for whom Secretary Hughes was the spokesman and will on every point take the same lofty and advanced position, transcending if possible, the note which was struck on that first memorable day.

We record the position of America's workers, for whom we speak, as being in absolute accord with the utmost degree of disarmament, with the utmost effort to destroy the machinery of war and to make unnecessary and impossible the appetites, the jealousies, the rivalries and the intrigue that lead to war.

And we trust that America will blaze the way even beyond consideration of the armaments of nations and the rivalries of nations and will seek to bring them into some permanent accord which will be organic and definite, to the end that there may be made possible those necessary recurring adjustments and adjudications which are vital to permanent harmony and peace between peoples and nations.

Progress in Research

(Address Delivered by President Gompers Before the Personnel Research Federation, November 21, 1921.)

IN UNDERTAKING a work as broad as that of personnel research there is always the temptation to attempt the assimilation of all the problems lying before us. Most of us are fighting that tendency. At the preliminary conference of this organization in November of last year I urged that we proceed one step at a time. Therefore, I must not allow myself to discuss the many suggestions made to me of work which might well be considered by the Personnel Research Federation.

Last year I suggested two problems which occurred to me as vital in the industrial field. First was the collection of data on hours of work in continuous industries, showing comparative production under the two-shift and three-shift systems. Second was an attempt to work out uniformity in job terminology to facilitate the work of an employment service.

This year I submit to you a third research problem of particular interest to Labor, namely the investigation which the Committee on Wages and the High Cost of Living authorized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor now has under way. Under this investigation the committee is to investigate principles of wage determination and all of the ramifications that the inquiry implies.

May I on behalf of Labor proclaim our conviction that fixation of wages on the basis of cost of living is wrong. In that direction lies death through the perpetuation of a static condition. Expediency was responsible for that wage theory; it does not square with fundamentals. Granting of mere subsistence was also an essential in a system of slavery. American industrial development has reached a point where it must give to the workers a consideration that goes beyond the bare essentials of sustaining life.

One reason for our pleasure in cooperating with the Personnel Research Federation in the study of personnel problems is the recognition even in the name itself of the conception that the life possibilities of a highly civilized people can not be measured in terms of yearly allowance or so many pounds and yards of commodities.

We shall be glad to keep you advised of the progress of the investigation by the Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and earnestly hope the Research Federation and its membership will consider how assistance can be given in the work of establishing principles of wage determination that will guide us in the complex problems of our industrial life. We hope the Research Federation takes an active interest in the solution of this great problem.

Has your organization telegraphed or written either to the House Committee on Immigration, or to the Senate Committee on Immigration, protesting against the enactment of H. J. R. 171, the coolie resolution? Have you, yourself, protested? If not, why not?

The Strong Right Arm

EDITORIALS

By SAMUEL GOMPERS

A CHRISTMAS STORY, NOT QUITE SO MERRY

It is written that once a great many centuries ago a powerful monarch refused to be convinced when there was written upon the wall of his banquet chamber words which meant: "Weighed in the balance and found wanting." The words were a warning, but Nebuchadnezzar failed to comprehend. History is filled with the records of monarchs who lacked the ability to heed the warning of rising resentment against oppression and cruelty.

These monarchs have passed away and most of the oppressions and cruelties for which they stood have passed with them.

The impounding of men and women in slavery has been abolished.

The right of barons to command the unpaid services of hordes of human beings has been abolished.

States no more make laws forbidding the increase of wages.

The right to organize is no longer denied by law.

The right of kings to enforce obedience to laws in the making of which there has been no popular voice has been abolished.

But though progress has been great, not all oppression and cruelty has been abolished.

One of the most amazing examples of arbitrary action remaining to mar the democracy of our day is the injunction.

The injunction is an order issued by a judge. It is the modern equivalent of the old royal command. The judge commands and he punishes for disobedience of the command. He lays down the law, fixes the punishment for its violation and then executes the sentence.

The principle that is involved when a judge issues an injunction is exactly the same principle that was involved when a king issued a decree

It is almost possible to envision the war chariots, the fan-waving court attendants, the mercenary soldiery of the ancient courts of medieval ages.

There is no difference in principle between the issuance of an injunction by a judge in a court room in New York or Washington or Indianapolis and the handing down of a decree in the now demolished courts of Solomon or Nero or Wilhelm.

In each case representative government is absent, absolutism is present and the people are ordered in their conduct by an unauthorized autocrat.

When the Clayton law was enacted it was believed the day of the injunction in industrial disputes was past. That law provided that no more such injunctions should be issued.

The president, in signing the act, declared in effect that certain judges had so conducted themselves in violation of then existing law that it was necessary for them again to be explicitly told where their powers ended and that he was glad to sign a bill that would tell them.

The Clayton Act told the judges where to stop, but they have mani-

fested as little regard for the law of the land as autocrats customarily manifest.

Recently the business of issuing injunctions has been brisk. In the past two months some notably sweeping injunctions have been issued. Judges are getting more ruthless. They are coming to have a more sweeping disregard of the law.

The false position of the injunction judges is clear to all persons who understand the law, but it is proven doubly by the court system itself. Where one judge will grant an injunction another judge, acting in a similar case, will deny an injunction. There is no uniformity of court conduct. This proves that the issuance of an injunction in an industrial dispute is a matter of personal preference with the judge. If he hates labor, if he feels and thinks like an autocrat, if he is irritable, he issues an injunction. So it was with Nero. He had a blue evening and went out and burned Rome.

So flagrant has been the recent violation of law by judges that Artist Baer, the farmous congressman-cartoonist, has been moved to express with his pen a very telling sermon on the subject for this Christmas edition.

The wolfish injunction judge, the social poison which the injunction represents and is, and the strong arm of the unions of the workers reaching out in protection of the workers. Mr. Baer has told the story. It isn't a pretty Christmas story, but where the facts of life are hard it is not the business of thoughtful men and women to see only roses and spangles.

The American Federation of Labor has declared that the unlawful injunction must be resisted. That is fundamental doctrine. Men who follow that doctrine will comport themselves in a manner fitting them to the company of the world's champions of freedom. Resistance to tyranny is ever a glorious business. Because of it we have freedom and democracy and opportunity. These things must not perish and to prevent that the injunction must go. The great, vibrant voice of freedom proclaims the death sentence of the unlawful writ of injunction. Judicial tyrants shall not destroy that which freedom's heroes have established!

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE RESULTS

One great popular delusion shared alike by Big Business and by certain schools of political and social economy was dispelled by the recent National Conference on Unemployment. The conference made it plain that unemployment is not the result of unknowable or uncontrollable forces and that, therefore, unemployment is a problem that can be solved.

Among working people the first essential in life is to have work. Life itself is dependent upon the opportunity to work and earn wages. That is why labor attaches such significance to every discussion of unemployment and its causes and to every effort to find the solution for the problem of unemployment.

The first step toward a solution of the problem is the acquiring of information and the analysis of experiences. To ascertain fully the causes of unemployment and to know beyond question that forces which make for unemployment are forces which can be ascertained, analyzed and classified

is to have taken the first great primary step toward solution. This step was initiated in the first session of the conference. The conference, itself, as has already been set forth in the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, had two phases; one dealing with temporary relief measures and the other with permanent remedial measures. The conference is, therefore, regarded as continuous.

In making his official report on the Unemployment Conference to the Executive Council, the president of the American Federation of Labor went exhaustively into every phase of the conference and its work and submitted material of special interest to responsible labor officials and to all wage earners. Because the information has been compiled and presented in this official form and in such detail, it is here reproduced in major part:

"Under the procedure adopted by the conference the various subjects coming before the conference were delegated to committees as indicated by their titles," said this report, "which committees submitted their reports to the organizing committee for the purpose of coordinating the work of the various committees. This organizing committee in turn reported to the conference as a whole. The report of these committees, through the organizing committee upon emergency measures as summarized and adopted by the conference on September 29 are as follows:

Emergency Measures

The conference presents this summary of its recommendations for an Emergency Program for immediate adoption and prosecution.

The views of the conference in amplification of these recommendations and as to measures which would contribute to restoration of industry and commerce will be given later.

1. The conference finds that there are, variously estimated, from three and a half to five and a half millions unemployed, and there is a much greater number dependent upon them. There has been an improvement, but pending general trade revival this crisis in unemployment can not be met without definite and positive organization of the country.

2. The problem of meeting the emergency of unemployment is primarily a community problem. The responsibility for leadership is with the mayor and should be immediately assumed by him.

3. The basis of organization should be an emergency committee representing the various elements in the community. This committee should develop and carry through a community plan for meeting the emergency, using existing agencies and local groups as far as practicable. One immediate step should be to coordinate and establish efficient public employment agencies and to register all those desiring work. It should coordinate the work of the various charitable institutions. Registration for relief should be entirely separate from that for employment.

4. The personnel of the employment agencies should be selected with consideration to fitness only and should be directed to find the right job for the right man and should actively canvass and organize the community for opportunities for employment. The registry for employment should be surrounded with safeguards and should give priority in employment to residents. Employers should give preference to the Emergency Employment Agencies.

5. The Emergency Committee should regularly publish the numbers dependent upon them for employment and relief that the community may be apprised of its responsibility. Begging and un-coordinated solicitation of funds should be prevented.

6. Private houses, hotels, offices, etc., can contribute to the situation by doing

their repairs, cleaning, and alteration during the winter instead of waiting until spring, when employment will be more plentiful.

7. Public construction is better than relief. The municipalities should expand their school, street, sewage, repair work and public buildings to the fullest possible volume compatible with the existing circumstances. That existing circumstances are favorable is indicated by the fact that over $700,000,000 of municipal bonds, the largest amount in history, have been sold in 1921. Of these, $106,000,000 were sold by 333 municipalities in August. Municipalities should give short time employment the same as other employers.

8. The governor should unite all states agencies for support of the mayors and, as the superior officer, should insist upon the responsibility of city officials, should do everything compatible with circumstances in expedition of construction of roads, state buildings, etc.

9. The Federal authorities, including the Federal Reserve Banks, should expedite the construction of public buildings and public works covered by existing appropriations.

10. A congressional appropriation for roads, together with state appropriation amounting to many tens of millions of dollars already made in expectation of and dependence on Federal aid; would make available a large amount of employment.

The conference under existing circumstances, notwithstanding various opinions as to the character of the legislation and the necessity for economy, recommends congressional action at the present session in order that work may go forward.

11 The greatest area for immediate relief of unemployment is in the construction industry, which has been artificially restricted during and since the war. We are short more than a million homes; all kinds of building and construction are far behind national necessity. The Senate Committee on Reconstruction and Production, in March of this year, estimated the total construction shortage in the country at between ten and twenty billions dollars. Considering all branches of the construction industries more than two million people could be employed if construction were resumed. Undue cost and malignant combinations have made proper expansion impossible and contributed largely to this unemployment situation. In some places these matters have been cleaned up. In other places they have not and are an affront to public decency. In some places these things have not existed. In others costs have been adjusted. Some materials have been reduced in prices as much as can be expected. Where conditions have been righted, construction should proceed, but there is still a need of community action in provision of capital on terms that will encourage home building. Where the costs are still above the other economic levels of the community there should be searching inquiry and action in the situation. We recommend that the governors summon representative committees, with the cooperation of the mayors or otherwise as they may determine, to (*a*) determine facts; (*b*) to organize community action in securing adjustments in cost, including removal of freight discriminations, and clean out campaigns against combinations, restrictions of effort, and unsound practices where they exist to the end that building may be fully resumed.

12. Manufacturers can contribute to relieve the present acute unemployment situation by—

(*a*) Part time work, through reduced time or rotation of jobs.

(*b*) As far as possible, manufacturing for stock.

(*c*) Taking advantage of the present opportunity to do as much plant construction, repairs, and cleaning up as is possible, with the consequent transfer of many employes to other than their regular work.

(*d*) Reduction of the number of hours of labor per day.

(*e*) The reduction of the work week to a lower number of days during the present period of industrial depression.

(*f*) The employes and employers cooperate in putting these recommendations into effect.

A large number of employers have already, in whole or in part, inaugurated the recommendations herein set forth, and for this they are to be commended, and it is

earnestly urged upon those employers who have not done so to put same into use, wherever practicable, at the earliest possible opportunity.

(g) Specific methods for solution of our economic problems will be effective only in so far as they are applied in a spirit of patriotic patience on the part of all our people.

During the period of drastic economic readjustment, through which we are now passing, the continued efforts of anyone to profit beyond the requirements of safe business practice or economic consistency should be condemned. One of the important obstacles to a resumption of normal business activity will be removed as prices reach replacement values in terms of efficient producing and distributing cost plus reasonable profit.

We, therefore, strongly urge all manufacturers and wholesalers who may not yet have adopted this policy to do so, but it is essential to the success of these measures when put into effect that retail prices shall promptly and fairly reflect the price adjustment of the producer, manufacturer, and the wholesaler.

When these principles have been recognized and the recommendations complied with, we are confident that the public will increase their purchases, thereby increasing the operations of the mills, factories and transportation companies, and consequently reducing the number of unemployed.

"The conference then adjourned to meet on October 10 in order to permit the committees, during the interim, to take up the more permanent measures. When the conference again met these various committees again reported to the organizing committee which in turn reported on October 11 upon the more permanent features in a summarized form as follows:

Permanent Measures

Recovery of our industry and employment must necessarily be a process of gradual healing of the great economic wounds of the world war. This healing is making distinct progress.

Without attempting the impossible task of assessing the relative weight of different forces, the conference presents the following summary of the more important matters that require constructive and immediate settlement if recovery in business and permanent employment are to be more expeditiously accomplished:

1. Readjustment of railway rates to a fairer basis of the relative value of commodities, with special consideration of the rates upon primary commodities, at the same time safeguarding the financial stability of the railways.

2. Speedy completion of the tax bill with its contemplated reduction of taxes, in order that business now held back pending definite determination may proceed.

3. Definite settlement of tariff legislation in order that business may determine its future conduct and policies.

4. Settlement of the financial relationships between the government and the railways, having in mind the immediate necessity for increased maintenance and betterments, making effective increased railway employment and stimulation of general employment, in order that the railways may be prepared for enlarged business as it comes.

"The labor representatives approved this recommendation with the understanding that the conditions upon which their approval was predicated would be indicated at a later session of the general conference and which was done in the report of Samuel Gompers, Sarah Conboy and Roy Dickinson.

5. Limitation of world armament and consequent increase of tranquillity and further decrease of the tax burden not only of the United States but of other countries.

6. Steps looking to the minimizing of fluctuations in exchange, because recovery from the great slump in exports (due to the economic situation in Europe) can not make substantial progress so long as extravagant daily fluctuations continue in foreign exchange, for no merchant can determine the delivery cost of any international shipment.

7. Definite programs of action that will lead to elimination of waste and more regular employment in seasonal and intermittent industries, notably in the coal industry,

in order that the drain upon capital may be lessened and the annual income of workers may be increased.

8. In the field of all the different industries and occupations the rapidity of recovery will depend greatly upon the speed of proportionate adjustment of the inequalities in deflation. A table is attached hereto, drawn from various sources, showing the percentage of present levels above the levels of the same commodities and services of the pre-war period. It will be observed that agriculture has reached an unduly low plane, while transportation, coal, and some branches of the construction industries are of the highest. It will also be observed that there is an entire disproportion between the price of the primary commodities and the ultimate retail price. These disproportionate increases in the progressive stages of distribution are due to increased costs of transportation, enlarged profits, interest, taxes, labor, and other charges.

If the buying power of the different elements of the community is to be restored, then these levels must reach nearer a relative plane. For example, the farmer can not resume his full consuming power and thus give increased employment to the other industries until either his prices increase or until more of the other products and services come into fair balance with his commodities, and therefore the reach of his income.

Summary

In presenting this report on the President's Unemployment Conference to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor I wish to emphasize the fact that the conference was rich in results. Some writers have indulged freely in fault-finding comment on details and have ignored the broad, constructive achievements of the conference which critical analysis makes apparent. Organized labor is too much concerned in the solution of unemployment or any other phase of the industrial problem to ignore that which is constructive.

Four lines of deliberation were before the conference:

The fundamental cause of unemployment.

The responsibility for relieving unemployment.

Methods for temporary relief.

Permanent solution of the unemployment problem.

Wide departures from these major considerations were attempted by both reactionary and radical members, but the final determinations of the conference were in accord with the expectations of those seeking practical measures. In all its procedure the conference was guided by the fact that it was not authorized to attempt to overturn existing theory and practice but was expected to meet the problem as far as possible through existing agencies. The four major achievements were:

1. The conference established the idea that the fundamental cause of unemployment is waste in industry which is cumulative and periodically produces an industrial depression. Unemployment is the result of causes capable of control and in normal proportions has been a constant accompaniment of industry. Abnormal employment has this time called attention to the causes of normal unemployment. The causes are essentially identical.

2. The responsibility for dealing with the unemployment problem was removed from the controversial field and placed squarely on industry because it can be solved only by industrial development of employment for the involuntary idle.

3. A method of temporary relief was provided by an executive agency directed to get practical results in the present emergency through action by the municipalities. A definite program for the guidance of this executive agency was adopted by the conference. Secretary Hoover, Chairman of the conference, appointed Col. Arthur Woods

a member of the Standing Committee, to act as the Chairman of this Committee on Community, Civic and Emergency Measures. The committee recognizes that the nation's unemployment problem is essentially a local problem, and must be handled by the individuals in each community. But it believes it can assist local communities in two ways by acting as a clearing house of information, and by its readiness to help each community in any way desired. This committee is in correspondence with the mayors of cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants, to learn what their unemployment status is, and what they are doing to meet it. On November 1, one hundred ninety three, or 66 per cent of the cities addressed, had replied. Of these 127 cities appear to have the situation under control. Eighty-two cities have appointed mayors unemployment committees, or their equivalent, to deal with their local problem. Many cities report special emergency measures to find work for men who need it, as "Spruce-Up Campaigns," in the home, the office and the municipality; additional men employed in the street cleaning departments; and the expenditure of millions of dollars in the hastened construction of public works and utilities.

4. Permanent solution of the unemployment problem was not to be expected of the first sessions of the conference, but a foundation was laid for eventual steps toward this end. Constructive programs are possible when it is recognized that accurate information is the basis of intelligent action. In the following actions the conference went as far as it could to insure collection of the essential information and to insure its utilization for constructive measures.

(*a*) The formation of a committee to study methods for controlling the recurring booms and depressions which characterize the business cycle, a necessary preliminary to the determination of ways and means of eliminating underlying causes of unemployment.

(*b*) The formation of a committee to consider methods for doing away with intermittent and seasonal unemployment.

(*c*) Recommending the extension and development of the Federal Employment Service, especially its statistical information and production and consumption of commodities and actual unemployment, as indispensable to present and future action. This is a constructive step which ought to go far in checking the attempts which have been made to destroy the Federal Employment Service.

(*d*) Inaugurating a permanent community program for rehabilitating the construction industries through community action to secure changes within the industry including the removal of freight discriminations and clean-cut campaigns against combinations, restrictions of effort, and unsound practices where they exist. This decidedly practical piece of work is under way through the Committee on Construction Development appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, and its local councils cooperating with governors of states and mayors of municipalities are making progress in meeting demands in the construction situation.

Final judgment of the work of the conference can not be made until it goes out of existence. It can be reconvened at any time to deal either with temporary or permanent relief of unemployment, and it will be reconvened when the time comes to concentrate its authority and influence for the purpose of giving to its recommendations permanent form and substance. This fact of permanence to our national consideration of the problem of industrial unemployment is an important achievement of the first sessions of the conference.

Pending the possible reconvening of the General Conference a Permanent Committee was appointed to select the several committees and to carry out the investigations in the more fundamental problems relating to unemployment and as directed by the General Conference.

Labor is represented on this Permanent Committee and the several investigating committees by Matthew Woll.

CAPITALIST STRIKE DEFINITION—ORDERLY MARKETING

A Government-financed beet sugar manufacturers' strike against low-priced sugar for the sugar consumers is one of the recent important and significant developments of this era. A recently-announced working agreement to boost sugar prices between the War Finance Corporation, a government owned and operated institution, and the Utah-Idaho-Colorado beet sugar manufacturers indicates to what extent the "people" receive the big end of the big stick when the agencies of the government are administered in the interests of business.

Beet sugar manufacturing is profitable. The beet sugar companies have paid large dividends, and at present they are not on the highway to bankruptcy. But there is a fairly large supply of sugar available, with the beet sugar factories turning out the 1921 crop. Under the free operations of the "immutable" law of supply and demand the result would be lower prices for the sugar consumers if the 1921 crop continues to come forward. The crop can be prevented from continuing to come forward if the beet sugar manufacturers withhold their sugar from the market. This of course is a strike of the sugar manufacturers against low prices for sugar, just the same as it is a strike against low wages when the workers refuse to give their services at the prices arbitrarily fixed by the employers.

The beet sugar manufacturers logically reason that if they withhold the beet sugar from the market, and withhold it long enough, the hunger of the people for sugar will mobilize the demand end of the law of supply and demand and boost sugar prices.

But the beet sugar manufacturers have their bills to meet, some of which they are unable to postpone. Among these bills is the money they have contracted to pay the farmers for the sugar beets from which beet sugar is manufactured. Ordinarily the beet sugar barons would pay the farmers out of the sale of the sugar. But sugar prices at present are too low to suit the profiteering instincts of the beet sugar barons. So they conceive the beet sugar manufacturers' strike as the most effective method to drive sugar prices over the top. By warehousing their sugar and keeping it warehoused long enough, the demands of the sugar consumers will whip up the price.

However, if they withhold their sugar from the market, they must borrow the money to pay the sugar beet farmers—in other words, they must borrow the money to finance their strike against low-priced sugar for the consumers.

Congress recently authorized the War Finance Corporation to make loans not in excess of $2,000,000,000 for "agricultural purposes." Some fiscal genius among the beet sugar barons got the idea that their beet sugar manufacturers' strike could be brought under a liberal interpretation of the expression "agricultural purposes." So they put their strike proposal up to Mr. Eugene Meyer, Managing Director of the War Finance Corporation. Mr. Meyer made a personal investigation of the proposed strike, and reached the conclusion that it would be in the public interest and properly within the purview of "agricultural purposes." He recommended the strike financing proposition to the Board of Directors of the War Finance Corporation. The

board in turn invited the Utah-Idaho-Colorado beet sugar manufacturers to meet with the board for the purpose of "evolving a plan under which the War Finance Corporation might be of the *utmost assistance in the orderly marketing of sugar.*"

The "orderly marketing" plan evolved by the conference decided that the best way for the government financing of the strike would be to authorize a financial institution (organized presumably by the beet sugar manufacturers themselves) to make loans to the beet sugar companies. The War Finance Corporation, in turn, will loan $10,000,000 of the people's money, of which it is the trustee, to the financial institution. The financial institution will then loan the $10,000,000 to the beet sugar companies. The beet sugar companies will pay the farmers for the sugar beets—and warehouse the sugar for higher prices.

For the purposes of the record we give the following excerpt from the War Finance Corporation's official statement explaining the corporation's machinery for financing the beet sugar manufacturers' strike:

> During his recent trip to the far west, Managing Director Meyer was apprised of the necessities of the sugar beet situation, particularly with respect to the *need of assistance in the orderly marketing of the current crop.*
>
> After presenting the problem, upon his return to Washington, to the Board of Directors, it was decided to invite the Agricultural Loan Committees in the sugar beet growing districts to come to Washington for a conference for the purpose of evolving a plan under which the War Finance Corporation might be of the *utmost assistance in the orderly marketing of sugar.*
>
> As a result of today's meeting the representatives of the sugar beet industry decided to apply to the War Finance Corporation through a financial institution in Utah which will make loans to sugar companies to the extent of the advances of such companies to sugar beet growers.
>
> The financial company will secure its advances by its own obligation secured by the obligation of the sugar beet companies and refined sugar in warehouses.
>
> This will enable the sugar companies promptly to pay the growers and to *hold the sugar in warehouses until it can be marketed in an orderly manner.*
>
> It is expected that under this plan advances will be made by the War Finance Corporation up to a total of ten million dollars.

Of course this sugar barons' strike against the sugar consuming public, largely made up of wage-earners afflicted with low wages, will be a success. The financial support supplied by the government is strong enough and flexible enough to create the sugar scarcity necessary to boost sugar prices to the point where "orderly marketing," as interpreted by the sugar barons and the War Finance Corporation will be an easy task. The insistent demands of hunger will drive up prices of any kind of food products.

Inasmuch as the War Finance Corporation has embarked on a strike-assisting policy, we have a suggestion to make.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, determined to increase its profits, has informed the 3,500 employes of the company in southern Colorado that it will refuse to continue to pay the present wage scale. The company does not refuse to continue to employ the 3,500 miners, but it will only employ them on the basis of a 30 per cent reduction in the wage scale. The miners declare that the standard of living entailed by this wage cut will be unthink-

able. They therefore decide to withhold their services from the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company until such time as the company gets hungry enough for mining labor to pay a price upon which the miners can work and live. In short, the miners strike.

During this period of withholding their services from the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, during this period when the miners are struggling to bring about an agreement for the "orderly" giving of their services, the men and their families must live.

It is suggested that the War Finance Corporation advance a few thousand dollars of the people's money, of which it is the trustee, to the striking miners in Colorado to help them win their strike for the retention of a decent standard of living.

The corporation proposes to finance the striking sugar barons to the extent of $10,000,000 to enable them to "hold their sugar in warehouses" until it can be disposed of at a profitable figure. Why not finance the striking Colorado miners so that they may warehouse their labor power until it can be disposed of at a figure which will at least insure the continuance of the present none-too-high living standards?

ANTI VOLSTEAD-BEVERIDGE

On November 18 the New York *Times* gave nearly a column of its space to a report of the 53d annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City and gave five-sixths of its account over to a report of an attack upon organized labor by Alfred J. Beveridge, former United States Senator from Indiana.

Once upon a time in the U. S. Senate, Mr. Beveridge attacked corporate wealth and gave prominence to the phrase "invisible government." Mr. Beveridge uses this ancient crusade of his to give the flavor of sincerity to his present attacks upon the organizations of the workers. Speaking to the assembled multitude of millionaires and leaders in great corporate enterprises, to whose ears the speech doubtless was as pleasant music, Mr. Beveridge said:

> Almost ten years ago I denounced as the "invisible" government the sway of those financial conspirators who sought to dominate the nation. That cabal of cunning and avarice has been overthrown.
>
> But another invisible empire has been established, as evil and dangerous as that of the dethroned autocracy of wealth. This new assailant of ordered liberty and American institutions is the close and closed corporation of those men who have made themselves masters of labor unions.
>
> Organized labor and organized capital alike can be made useful to all men and helpful to a republic, but neither should be permitted to oppress any man, woman or child or to govern the American people.

Mr. Beveridge also joined with those who composed the reactionary chorus in demanding the repeal of the Adamson law and in demanding that the railroad labor board be combined with the Interstate Commerce Commission. There was a time when only those who voiced the opinions of the vested interests and of the ruling class generally could obtain a hearing.

There was a time when almost no one else possessed the ability to write and when for anyone else to think independently was perilously near to crime, and when to express an independent thought was indeed a crime. Mr. Beveridge speaks as one who forgets that the times have changed. As it is with Elbert H. Gary, so it is with Alfred J. Beveridge. Mr. Beveridge belongs to a somewhat notable class of unregenerate reactionaries, whose utterances constantly recall Watts' line: Hark! from the tombs of doleful sound.

The sound with which Mr. Beveridge favored his audience of employers and financiers, however, was more than doleful. It was doleful and untruthful. Eighth grade and junior high school students in almost every community could enlighten this former Senator and prove to him that the trade union movement is not an "invisible empire," is not "evil and dangerous," is not an "assailant of ordered liberty and American institutions," does not "oppress" anyone, and does not even aspire to "govern the American people."

Perhaps the main purpose in here recounting these untruthful utterances may be to show how ridiculous men may become when they go abroad preaching the gospel according to "big business." Mr. Beveridge has lived long enough to acquire at least the rudiments of information about such things as trade union corporations, chambers of commerce and legislative bodies. Some men, to be sure, absorb information about corporations and chambers of commerce more readily than they do information about such things as labor unions, because corporations and chambers of commerce frequently make it very easy for one to absorb information about their desires and their work.

There is no purpose to argue here with Mr. Beveridge. We simply say that he has told a grave untruth and that he has misrepresented trade unions and the principles and integrity of a great democratic, humanitarian movement, which is organized for, and dedicated to, human welfare and everything that makes for human progress and the safeguarding of eternal justice and human liberty. Mr. Beveridge is challenged to say, either through the columns of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, or in any other public manner which he may select, why he has done this base and ignoble thing.

The American labor movement has been in the foremost position in demanding education not only for our youth but for the manhood and womanhood of our country. Therefore the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has endorsed the movement for education week December 4-10, 1921. An appeal is made to all organized labor and sympathizers to make a concentrated effort that week for education among all the people of our country.

Has your organization telegraphed or written either to the House Committee on Immigration, or to the Senate Committee on Immigration, protesting against the enactment of H. J. R. 171, the coolie resolution? Have you, yourself, protested? If not, why not?

Important Developments Affecting Labor in Foreign Lands

The American Federationist herewith presents two articles on conditions affecting labor in foreign lands. They are presented for the information which they contain and the fact that they are published here in no way lends endorsement to the measures which other countries have deemed it wise or advisable to take.

The article by Mr. Krause is another of a series by him relating to labor conditions in the former Germanic empires. The article by Dr. Ragazzoni deals with measures adopted by the Italian government and constitutes an interesting review of what that government has done.—Editor of the American Federationist.

Dismissal of Workmen in the New German Labor Legislation

By L. KRAUSE

Special Correspondence to American Federationist, September 24, 1921, Leipzig, Germany.

THE time when employers were free to give warning to their workmen or to dismiss them at will is entirely past in Germany. Since the revolution a series of laws have been passed for the protection of working people. The most important of these are (1) the Workmen's Committees law of February 4, 1920, with regard to the dismissal of workmen, and (2) the regulations referring to the engagement and dismissal of workers dated February 12, 1920. In addition a law was passed for the protection of war-invalids, according to which, up to April, 1922, no notice given to any of them should be valid unless approved by the proper authorities.

The law relating to workmen's committees assures an extensive protection from dismissal, since it grants the workmen's committees the right to interfere and prevent dismissal except in concerns with fewer than 20 workmen. In the following cases the workmen are entitled to ask within five days the intervention of the workmen's committee.

1. When there is reason to believe that the dismissal is on account of sex or because of political or trade-union activities.
2. When dismissal is proposed because the workman refused to do continuously any work different from that for which he was engaged.
3. When the warning is given without stating any reasons.
4. When the dismissal constitutes an unfair rigor or hardship not justified by the demeanor of the workman or the conditions of the work.

Frequently disputes result from the interpretation of Article 4 regarding "unfair rigor." Evidently the legislature intended that the family conditions of the dismissed worker should be given due consideration. First of all, the workmen's committee must try to bring about an understanding with the employer within a week, and, in case of failure, the latter or the dismissed worker can apply to the board of arbitration within five days.

The decision of the board of arbitration is final. If the board recognizes the workman's protest against the dismissal as justified, the employer must employ dismissed worker. If he declines, he must pay him an indemnity to be fixed by the board of arbitration. If the employer must employ the man again he must pay for the time lost. But the employer may deduct what the workman has earned in the meantime or what he has neglected to earn by ill will. The members of the workmen's committees can only be dismissed with the consent of a majority of the committee. If this consent is refused, it can be granted by the board of arbitration. The consent of the workmen's committee is not required for dismissals due to legal compulsion or stipulations of the wage agreement, nor in cases when the factory stops work altogether.

While the rules of the law referring to workmen's committees aim at protecting the single workman from an unjust dis-

missal, the regulation for engaging and dismissing workmen by employers, dated 12th February, 1920, safeguards the interests of workmen in general and aims at preventing an increase of the number of the unemployed. In the beginning the law was to have had validity and remain in force only up to April 1, 1922. To all appearances, however, this law will not be repealed in the near future; on the contrary, efforts are being made to extend the regulations referring to slack work in the industry. The most important of these regulations is that prohibiting the dismissal of working people simply to reduce their number until the length of the working week shall have been cut down to twenty-four hours. An exemption from this regulation can be obtained by an employer only in cases where special conditions prevailing in the factory make the reduction in working time inadvisable.

The purpose of Article 12 is to provide against an increase in the number of unemployed. But Article 12 does not prevent an employer from dismissing a single workman whom he thinks unfit for the work. If the workman thinks his dismissal unjust, he is allowed to protest to the board.

The law does not fix the reduction of hours which must precede any dismissal of workmen. It only says that the shortening must extend to twenty-four hours a week, or four hours a day. It would, as the board of arbitration has repeatedly decided, be an inadmissible evasion of the law if the work were to be reduced to the twenty-four hour per week rate for a period of only one day, in order to permit of dismissing workers.

It is not necessary that the short hours extend over all the works. If a shortage of work exists in only one department of the factory, the reduced hours need be effective only in this department, while sections which may have sufficient work are permitted to work full time. Wages may be reduced in proportion to the shortened time, but only after the necessary notice has been given. For instance, if a fortnight's notice is prescribed, an announcement of the shortening of the working time must be made a fortnight in advance. If less notice is given, the employer is bound to pay full wages for the period of notice prescribed.

The employer is free to decide when and in what measure the shortening of hours shall take place, but when dismissals on a large scale are contemplated, the employer is obliged to consult the workmen's committee, in order to avoid any injustice to the workers. In selecting the workers to be dismissed, not only the working conditions, but also long service, family conditions and personal situation are taken into consideration. Special regard has to be paid to war-invalids and survivors of soldiers who were killed.

The workman has the right to appeal to the board of arbitration. If the employer has violated the law in dismissing a workman, the board of arbitration may decide that the workman shall be reinstated and indemnified for the loss sustained by him through dismissal.

Opinion is divided as to the advantages and drawbacks of this law. In numerous cases employers have claimed that plant is irrationally worked under the short hour plan and that under this plan the workman grows less inclined to work. The workman, too, is often averse to short hours, although as a rule hardly any opposition is publicly expressed by him. But the longer working people suffer from short hours, the more they give exterior signs that they are by no means inclined to be satisfied with a smaller income in the interest of the unemployed. This becomes evident in their demanding the dismissal of those who can support themselves by job work, owning and working small farms, or otherwise. When short hours are continued for a long period, they insist on full hours, even though they may be obtained only through the dismissal of a corresponding number of workmen. However, it often occurs that workmen's committees or local trade-unions, among them many that form part of the Socialistic General German Association of Trade-Unions, contrary to the law of February 12, 1920, make the motion to dismiss the less needy men to procure full hours to others. The repeated assertion that workmen willingly submit to the sacrifices caused by short hours is not generally true.

Under pressure brought to bear by the unemployed, and especially by their radical wing, the Reichstag recently discussed another general reduction of the working hours to provide work for the unemployed.

To prevent a further loss to the workers it was proposed that the employer and the state each bear one-third of the loss of wages. However, economic corporations, even those composed of an equal number of employers and employes, pronounced themselves for the greater part against such a compulsory extension of short hours. The motion was partly approved by the Reichstag, but the opposition was stronger and, for the present, there is no chance of such a law being passed.

Recent Italian Social Legislation

By GUERRIERO RAGAZZONI
Doctor of Social Science and Lawyer, Chief of the Labor Office of the Province of Alexandria, Italy

(Special Correspondence to THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.)

THE last national war having terminated victoriously for Italy, she mobilized her forces of wisdom and initiative for the reconstruction of her socio-economic life by a prompt work of reconstruction.

Before the war Italian social legislation had certain deficiencies, although there were numerous measures regulating many labor problems.

Special laws protected women and child workers, provided compulsory insurance against industrial accidents and compulsory maternity insurance, supervised workmen's voluntary invalidity and old age insurance, and regulated emigration.

Councils of selectmen were established to adjust industrial disputes; and special rules were prescribed for the breadmaking and rice industries, for the workers' and producers' cooperatives, for the prevention of malaria and pellagra, for a weekly rest day, and for rural housing.

There were also regulations concerning labor hygiene and protection, especially with respect to certain unhealthy and dangerous industries.

As soon as the war was over, however, these labor protective measures were recognized as wholly insufficient.

The war, which entirely disorganized the economic and political life of states, brought about new exigencies and orientations which led to such radical innovations in labor legislation that the entire after-the-war policy is social and economic in character.

In Italy this condition manifested itself more acutely because of the fact that after four years of severe war there was created in the working classes, and especially among the industrial workers, an ensemble of circumstances which made imperative the most modern and daring conceptions relative to social relations as well as in the progress and perfection of labor legislation.

Unemployment

Unemployment is certainly the most serious malady at present affecting the laboring classes.

This phenomenon—mainly caused by demobilization, by the failure to transform war industries into peace industries, by the suspension of emigration, by transportation difficulties, by the cost of labor and raw material, and by the economic and social uncertainty of the moment—necessitated the enactment by the state of a series of measures designed to face the grave consequences in the labor market.

During the war a number of measures had been taken to mitigate unemployment. They included the contribution of state funds to unemployment associations and to societies for the assistance of out-of-work fishermen, protection against unemployment occasioned by lack of electric power, insurance against unemployment for workers in auxiliary establishments, and the placement of rice plantation workers.

Decree No. 1911 (November 17, 1918) regulated the organization of employment bureaus, while Decree No. 1698 (November 17, 1918) established a fund of 100,000,000 lire for the benefit of involuntary unemployment, the allotment of which was still further regulated by Decree No. 6 (January 5, 1919).

Before the war very little had been done with respect to the organization of employment services. It therefore became necessary to create a strong system of organs particularly adapted to find employment for the unemployed.

In the development of this policy local employment bureaus were established con-

sisting of communal and provincial employment commissions and offices.

These employment bureaus have given such satisfactory results that it is to be hoped the organization of the employment service in Italy will continue its course of constantly increasing improvement.

While the employment services were being organized, the machinery for the administration of the unemployment insurance service was also installed.

The problem of unemployment has thus been attacked, but not solved.

It still remains to abolish the private employment offices, leaving the employment service to bureaus regularly constituted. Moreover, for economic and social reasons the allocation of public funds for the assistance of the unemployed could not be continued indefinitely.

Decree No. 2214 (October 19, 1919) accomplishes the object of these measures. This decree reorganized the employment service by the establishment of a national office under the ministry and enacted new measures based upon the principle of obligatory insurance against involuntary unemployment.

The cost of the unemployment insurance is carried by the employers and employes, the latter contributing in proportion to their wages. The decree makes provision for provincial unemployment insurance funds administered by provincial employment and unemployment commissions composed of representatives of the employers, the employes, and the government.

Supplemental to the unemployment insurance service, communal and provincial employment bureaus have been established for the benefit of laborers who may require their assistance.

Under the unemployment insurance system each worker has a special card to which stamps are affixed of various denominations according to the amount of his dues.

The unemployment funds are provided by contributions from the state, the employers, and the employes.

The scope of this law will be extended so as to include certain categories of workers who were originally excluded.

Following the unemployment insurance decree provisions were made for finding employment for demobilized officers and for subventions to local bodies charged with the execution of public works and interior colonization.

It is thus seen that in the field of unemployment, Italian legislative activity has recently performed very important work, which is all the more remarkable because there were no precedents in foreign countries for this character of legislation. Moreover, this important problem will be the subject of more thorough study.

It is important to remember that the best way to combat unemployment is to minimize its consequences, preferably by the concrete offer of employment, which can only be made effective through public works, instead of by the payment of unemployment insurance to be frittered away during the continued idleness of the laborer.

In this field of furnishing work the government made an initial appropriation of 600,000,000 lire, but the measures were insufficient; they only partially and transiently solved the problem.

The unemployment disease must be attacked in its roots instead of in its branches. Consequently a complete labor policy must be inaugurated whose constant tendency will be to solve the nation-wide crisis in production and transportation.

In Italy we have a program of national economic reconstruction which must be developed for the radical solution of the crisis.

We have before us the entire hydroelectric problem, whose practical solution would contribute so largely to augment our national wealth, solve the transportation crisis, and emancipate us from our dependence upon foreign countries for our coal supply.

Likewise, the utilization of our uncultivated land, the production of grain and forage crops, the construction of housing and transportation material and supplies, the development of our colonies—these are problems whose solution would not only emancipate our national production but would also bring an immediate remedy for unemployment; *indeed we may say the only efficacious remedy, for certainly neither the system of government assistance nor unemployment insurance will completely solve the question.*

Emigration

In certain quarters it is believed that unemployment can be mitigated by a recurrence to emigration.

Emigration is a phenomenon which reached a position of great importance in our economic life before the war. This leads some to the belief that its importance should be still greater in the gravity of the crisis through which we are now passing.

In the past Italy gave but little assistance to her emigrants; they were abandoned without protection to foreign exploitation. It is therefore necessary to intensify the interest of the Mother Country in her emigrants by a wise and enlightened control over emigration.

Decree No. 22 (November 13, 1919) established the General Commissariat and its subordinate bureaus and issued general rules covering emigration, the conditions of the emigrants and the transportation accommodations.

Decree No. 1643 (August 28, 1919) had already made public the executive regulations for the administration of the law for the judicial protection of emigrants (law of August 2, 1913, No. 1075), whose regulations were designed to repress the abuses by whomsoever committed against our workers bound for foreign countries. The decree prohibited the recruiting of emigrants unless authorized by the General Commissariat of Immigration and carried out by the intermediary of services duly organized for the purpose. The regulations include rules for the organization and functioning of councils of selectmen whose mission is to adjust all controversies arising between workers and *entrepreneurs*.

Without doubt the emigration regulations represent a series of wise provisions, especially when, under the restriction of obligatory passports, they permit an effective control over the fulfillment of the labor conditions promised the emigrants, and still more effective when, according to the regulations, the enrolment of emigrants must be made by institutions duly authorized to perform this work.

It is nevertheless necessary always to increase our activity and vigilance in order to prevent unscrululous labor exploiters and *entrepreneurs* from abusing the confidence of the laborers.

Although emigration may be a remedy for the labor crisis through which we are passing, it must always be remembered that it is our duty to so safeguard our emigrants that though they may be in foreign countries they will be followed by the vigilant protection of the Mother Country, who should guarantee them protection against all exploitation and misfortune.

With this object in view, treaty stipulations should be negotiated with the governments to whose jurisdiction most of our emigrants go. These treaty stipulations should provide in clear and definite terms for the protection of our emigrants in their work in foreign countries—a protection that will secure for them the same treatment as the workers of the countries concerned enjoy. To accomplish this purpose it will be necessary for our authorities to have certain rights of inspection wherever our emigrants are employed in order to guarantee to our emigrant nationals in foreign countries complete protection relative to accidents, sickness, women and child labor, invalidity, and old age.

Social Insurance

In the domain of social insurance our country inaugurated after the war bold innovations which placed us in the advance guard.

We regard two of these innovations as of great importance: obligatory insurance against agricultural accidents and obligatory invalidity and old age insurance.

Decree No. 1450 (August 23, 1917) established accident insurance for all workers engaged in any branch of the agricultural industry. The cost of the insurance is borne entirely by the land owners and tenants. This law, enacted by Italy after Germany, Belgium, and England, was more the declaration of a principle than an adequate provision for the farm laborers.

A recent amendment to the agricultural workers accident insurance law (Act of March 24, 1921, No. 297) gives just consideration to the workers' demands. By this amendment the indemnities in case of permanent invalidity or death are tripled while the daily indemnities in case of temporary invalidity are quadrupled.

Obligatory insurance against invalidity and old age was authorized by the decree of April 21, 1919; it has the largest possible scope, including all laborers.

The insurance fund is derived from three sources. The employers and employes contribute equal amounts, and the state pays a fixed sum.

The object of the insurance is to pension incapacitated and aged workers and to assist the needy families of deceased persons.

The invalidity pension is payable when the insured is deprived of two-thirds of his working ability, provided he has made 120 semi-monthly payments to the pension funds. The old age pension is payable at 65 years on condition that the worker has made 240 semi-monthly payments to the pension fund. In case of death a temporary allowance of 50 lires per month is paid to widows and minor children during six months.

Special cards are made out in the name of insured persons, and their payments are receipted for with stamps affixed to the cards.

The law also permits optional insurance.

The compulsory invalidity and old age insurance law marks a great step toward perfecting Italian social legislation. To this measure there will shortly be added a measure, already in preparation, for obligatory insurance against sickness. This law will provide for a pecuniary indemnity and medical assistance both to the insured and their families. The sickness indemnity will be continued until health is restored or until the invalidity pension is applicable in order that the insured may never be deprived of relief.

The law will also provide for the organization of maternity insurance as well as for raising the children, and includes an indemnity for a definite period before and after childbirth. The maternity insurance fund is collected from the employers, the employes, and public bodies.

The decree which protects the employes in private enterprises, the creation of a Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the legislative reforms relative to cooperation, the law which increases the indemnities for industrial accidents, the measure prepared by the Supreme Labor Council which will constitute a first step toward a veritable technical labor parliament, the reform in the labor inspection law, the projects relative to the eight-hour day, industrial hygiene, and home labor, the bill for labor control of industry—all these measures constitute a long step toward the actual and immediate realization of the greatest reforms in Italian social legislation.

Far from obtaining all the benefits to which they have the right, the Italian people have been compelled to submit to many disappointments; because of these disappointments Italy has not completely emerged from her depression.

The uncertainty of international relations, the difficult financial situation, and interior agitation are still among the gravest consequences of the war and are largely exploited in foreign countries to create suspicion with respect to the stability of the Italian state.

But the Italian people possess inexhaustable latent resources.

Those who seriously think of the bankruptcy of Italy are blind; those who predict it are acting in bad faith.

The situation is admittedly difficult, but no more difficult than that of other countries, although they may be richer than we are.

The evolution which the laboring masses of Italy are accomplishing leads to the realization of the most audacious reforms in the domain of labor. It will give to the country the requisite recuperative force for the establishment of social peace, and social peace is the indispensable condition for the progress of a people.

Where wealth and freedom reign contentment fails,
And honor sinks where commerce long prevails.
—*Oliver Goldsmith.*

I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effectual as their strict construction.— *Ulysses S. Grant.*

Labor in this country is independent and proud. It has not to ask the patronage of capital, but capital solicits the aid of labor.—*Daniel Webster.*

How the Union Shop Really Works—The Story of a Veteran Foreman

This article was written by a man who for twenty-two years served as foreman of a large shop. It describes the change from non-union to union conditions and the relations between workers and employer thereafter.

The writer, for sufficient reasons, finds it advisable to withhold his name, but the American Federationist guarantees the genuineness of his record, his long foremanship and the fact that after thirty-six years of continuous service he was retired on pension "for many years of honest, faithful service."

Here is a real account of a real experience. It shows how the union shop meets the test.—Editor, The American Federationist.

THE World War is over. But now looms up the most crucial question propounded as an aftermath of the inflated cost of living and the inflated wages in some industries—Shall the "open" shop prevail or shall the "closed" shop prevail?

This article will not deal with raw statistics, but will give the viewpoint of one who has a right, by reason of his actual experience, to speak or write on the subject intelligibly. I have no degrees affixed to my name, but I was told that I was an "easy boss, but a hard task-master." Maybe that is true, for I studied my men—their dispositions, characteristics, idiosyncrasies—and overlooked many of their weaknesses, but I did demand—and got—a fair return to my employer for a fair day's pay. So when a nervous breakdown compelled me to retire from my life-work, my "close-up" was as in the movies—I took capital's hand, placed it in the hand of labor and said: "God bless you, my children; you are all human and if you will only get closer together you will get along famously." Now I am going to unwind the reel:

When I was eighteen years of age I was made a journeyman, though that was against the law of the union I belonged to. I was taken at that, and because I was fully competent and also because I could safely work "under cover," that is, I took a job in a non-union office, along with many other union men supposedly non-union, in order that when the order came to strike the majority of the men were union men, much to the surprise of the foreman. This foreman was an overbearing, tyrannical person, whose lickspittles fawned before him and whom honest men despised.

The strike was ordered prematurely by the union, as conditions had become so intolerable that it became absolutely necessary to revolt. The working conditions were simply awful. It is an actual fact that when a new foreman supplanted the old one—for the strike was won, the union having proved to the employer that his foreman was carrying a "padded" payroll—it was necessary to scrape the floor and use a shovel in order to remove the tobacco "cuds." When the strike was ended the employer came into the room, which he had not entered for years, looked about and simply said to a member of the executive committee of the union: "My God, I didn't dream of this! I want your union to appoint a committee and make out a list of improvements in working conditions at once. It seems almost incredible that I should have had my men working under such conditions—I didn't know it!" And yet, had one of the employes gone to him individually he would have been referred back to the foreman and been discharged. I think the employer went on the long trail with the full consciousness that the strike had made him beloved by his employes, for sincere were the tears shed when the quartette sang, "Nearer, My God to Thee."

That was nigh forty years ago, and today the entire plant is, and has been, a staunch "closed" shop, with ideal, modern working conditions—never a strike since, though often the relations were strained due to some hot-headed, fanatical "leader," but the get-together idea always prevailed and

found a solution of the problem. Every non-union man went into the union at that time. I could not count upon my hands and toes the premature graves that were filled by the unsanitary conditions that prevailed. Look at the plant today—shower baths, rest room, medical attention always at hand, every thought and consideration for the welfare of the employes. Who brought that about?

Do you mean to tell me that those men who made the sacrifice of loss of pay, who paid their dues regularly to the union, whose wives and children bore with fortitude, want and deprivation, that their husbands and fathers might return from work at night with all the Christian privileges accorded them that should be granted to those who toil and sweat that others may profit—do you mean to tell me, I say, that those men are going to work harmoniously with non-union men who have made no sacrifices whatever and who are reaping the benefits of the strikes, and strikes that have been lost after men had been starved into submission, only to strike again that their conditions might be bettered? It's against human nature—it's too preposterous even to dream of such a realization. And yet some preach—sincerely so, some of them—the doctrine of "the right of a workingman to seek work where he will." Why, in the name of common sense, if that man is competent and wants good wages and all the benefits that accrue from unionism, which means "standing together," doesn't he join the union, help to maintain good working conditions and living wages? Mayhap he doesn't know of conditions that prevailed before unions compelled employers and legislators to recognize the fact that all men are equal and entitled to go through this life as human beings and not as slaves. Maybe he or she does not recall the working conditions of the miners, the factory hands, the shopgirls—in fact, in any line of work—"Entombed Miners," "Factory Employes Trapped by Fire," "Girl has Scalp Torn from Her Head by Machinery not Safeguarded," "Shopgirl Dies in Store,"—those were common first page stories in the early eighties.

I have a sister—we five children were compelled to go to work almost when entering our teens due to the death of our father—who was employed in a dry-goods store in New York, working from 7.30 A. M. until 6 P. M., five days per week and on the sixth, Saturday, from 7.30 A. M. until 11 P. M. for the pittance of $6 per week, with no thought whatever for the comforts of the girls who frequently fainted from the long period, the foul air of the store and whose only place to eat their luncheons was at a table in the basement where the toilets were. And everyone of the firm became immensely wealthy and upon their demise gave priceless pictures to a museum of art, and yet there is not one picture there that could ever redeem the soul of the donator for the bitterness, the agony, the sorrow with which one of his working girls laid down before her mother her pay envelope with 75 cents short because she became ill and had to go home! Figure it out for yourself—I do not like to figure out such problems, but it's easy—six days of 10½ hours each (half an hour was allowed for luncheon) and one day of 15½ hours equals at $6 for the total number of hours—but my brain is befuddled at the stupendousness of the figures—figure it out for yourself how much that girl got per hour for standing on her feet from opening to closing in an ill-ventilated tuberculosis-breeding store? And the employers? You needed but to go to Fifth Avenue and see them step forth and enter their carriages, the doors of which were opened for them by monkey-liveried flunkeys. Imagine a real man requiring some one to open and close a carriage door for him! These are truths and they are beholden.

And the only wonder to me is that rank socialism and bolshevism had not cropped out sooner, when I think of those days.

Think of the street-car drivers, with feet encased in burlap, with one hand holding the reins and the other hand the brake, with icicles dropping from his mustache, head bowed to partly shield himself from the withering blasts through which he was struggling to bring to their homes the carload of poorly-paid and shabbily-clad workmen of the factories in South Brooklyn. Not a thought of shelter from the fierce storms for those men. Are they working under such conditions today? No—and why? Unionism—sticking together. And yet you would want to tell me those men who had gone through that and struck and

struck until they obtained better wages and working conditions would work harmoniously with non-union men who had never made any sacrifices and who are deriving all the benefits that accrue from those sacrifices? Honestly, now, would you become reconciled to some one reaping the benefits of a business you had built up by hard work and self-abnegation and take into partnership at your original capitalization one who has never done a hand's turn? No, it is against reason, against principle, against the laws of human nature. It can't be done!

What then, is the solution? Reconcile yourself to the "closed" shop and get closer to your men. Suppose you said, for instance, "Boys, I've had a bully good year and I am going to let you in on some of the profits. But maybe next year I may fall behind, so you must not expect it regularly. Anyway, I'm going to give you the benefit of this year's showing. Mind you, this isn't an increase in wages, for if I can't do the same next year you'll stand by the agreement as it is, won't you"? I can hear the rafters ring with applause and shouts of "You bet you we will!"

Don't think for a moment that workingmen are what they appeared to be during this period of radicalism—this period of strikes for big pay without rendering services commensurate with it. That was a condition that came about with all the other abnormal and damnable traits of humankind. That condition is passing. I would no more think of defending some of the acts committed in the name of unionism than I would think of helping a murderer to escape. Recall, in your calmer moments, how everyone was profiteering and that a man with a family could not live with double the pay he received years ago—and not so many get double the pay. But now we are getting down to the reasoning point, and the same point, and in the mellow rays of the early dawn I can see the awakening of a better understanding between capital and labor.

Don't insist upon the "open" shop, for every right-thinking workingman knows that that means, as far as possible, a return to old conditions, not perhaps by you, Mr. Honest Employer, but by those who in years agone believed that labor was only entitled to a "living," never for a moment giving thought to the fact that in the laboring man's lifetime there comes to him, as to you, the call for a physician to usher into the world a new being to add to his burden or for an undertaker to hang upon his door a piece of crepe—that symbol of the entering into eternal life of a soul that in the great beyond will be on an equality with anyone within the pearly gates—master and man.

No, the "open" shop is not the solution of the labor problem—the "closed" shop and the "open" mind are the solution. As you fought side by side for the salvation of mankind on the other side, so should you, Mr. Capitalist, and you, Mr. Workingman, fight side by side for a safe and sane solution of the labor problem—and that is not the "open" shop, but the "closed" shop, with binding pacts and agreements that will free you both from that miserable uncertainty that has prevailed recently in the business world. Of course, these agreements have been broken by the unions—that is, not unionism, but remember that we are emerging from a period of radical rule into an era of safe and sane conduct of unionism.

The period of reconstruction is on in the business world, and also in the minds of the right-thinking and right-dealing majority. My hair is whitened now, and I have seen many problems arise, but justice and right have always prevailed. But let me tell you, Mr. Business Man, that the "open" shop will never cease to be a cause of worry to you, for however much may you be inclined to convince yourself that it is a good business proposition, your ultimate conclusion and conviction will be that union and nonunion men will not amalgamate. It's "agin human nater," and you might as well reconcile yourself to the fact that you yourself would not go through deprivation and want that benefits derived therefrom may accrue to others. There will always be friction, and friction causes trouble, and trouble means loss of business, worry, and an early grave.

In conclusion, lest you might think that I was entirely over-balanced in favor of the employes, let me say that I had my worries with some of the radicals, but with judgment and tact overcame them, I think, and I can not help concluding this article

with a blush of egotistical pride, with an extract from a souvenir commemorating a union event:

The cordial relations which have always existed between the foremen and the members of the union have been the natural outgrowth of the uniformly courteous treatment he has extended to them and to the eminent fairness of his administration. In the circumstances it is not surprising that any differences that may have arisen have been speedily and amicably adjusted and the records of the union do not show that an appeal from the foremen's decision was found necessary, or even desirable.

And, for all that, my payroll was lower for similar work performed than any in New York City. It's simple—get close to your men, win their confidence, overlook some of the frailties of humankind, and get good returns.

And that you can not get in an "open" shop!

Twenty-two years of foremanship taught me that.

Official

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Nov. 22, 1921.

To All Organized Labor.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS, GREETING: Some months ago I received copy of a circular letter undated, not bearing the name of any city, not addressed to any one particular person, but bearing the address of "Friends" and signed by the following:

S. JOHN BLOCK
WM. DE SILVER
WALTER NELLES
CHAS. RECHT
} New York.

I. LASKER GREENBURG, Philadelphia.
MORRIS KATZEFF, Boston.
WALTER M. NELSON, Detroit.
FRED. A. SCHOPP, Detroit.
CHAS. E. S. WOOD, San Francisco, Calif.

The circular solicited funds for the purpose of ascertaining the truth or falsity of a confession which had recently been made by a former employe of a private detective agency operating in the industrial field.

The circular then stated:

"A superficial inquiry indicates that many of the charges are founded upon fact and an exhaustive investigation has already been begun. Funds however are indispensable if this investigation is to be continued. We, therefore, are taking the liberty of soliciting financial support from you for this purpose. It presents an opportunity of service to the labor movement seldom equalled. We hope that you will respond as generously as you can.

"Please send your contributions to Albert De Silver, treasurer, 68 William Street, New York City, plainly marked: 'For investigation of industrial espionage.' "

By direction from this office the American Federation of Labor representatives in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit and San Francisco endeavored to secure information as to the activities of the several men whose names were signed to the circular. There was very little information obtained.

A short time before the last meeting of the Executive Council which was held in this city November 14-19, further copies of this circular were received. I reported the matter to my colleagues of the Executive Council together with the reports of the several representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council thereupon directed that the undersigned should call the matter to the attention of affiliated organizations and at the same time to recommend to them, as I now do to you, that no contributions should be made in response to such appeals as those to which reference is made in this letter.

If at any time you should secure additional information upon this subject, I should be very glad to have you transmit it to me.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you at your convenience, I am

Fraternally yours,
SAM'L GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

To All Organized Labor:

The printing trades unions have been forced into a struggle not of their own making. After the employing printers of the country had made a solemn contract to inaugurate the forty-four-hour week on May 1, 1921, they began an insidious campaign

to break it. They demanded reduction in wages, the establishment of the so-called open shop and used every other method to force the printing trades in the book and job offices to cease work before May 1, 1921. This was part of the hostile campaign of various interests to destroy all the printing trades unions. When May 1 arrived the employers absolutely refused to grant the forty-four-hour week and the members of the printing trades unions were compelled to cease work. They were locked out by the contract breakers.

Every state and city central body and all local unions should come to the support of the printing trades in a practical way. They should resent in a most emphatic manner the violation by the employing printers of the contract to establish the forty-four-hour week. This can be done by urging all sympathizers of Labor and those who are opposed to the action of the employing printers in breaking their contract to require the allied printing trades label upon all matter printed for them.

Committees should be appointed to wait upon the fair-minded business men and acquaint them with the injustice done the printers. As much publicity as possible should be given the campaign.

It should be pointed out that if the contract-breaking employers are successful it will place a premium on contract-breaking. The trade union movement believes in the maintenance of contracts. It has no patience with those who break them. The union label will therefore be the most effective weapon that can be used against those who have paralyzed the printing industry for purposes of greed and to establish autocratic methods of treating the workers.

This is a matter of great moment. Every union man in America should aid the printers. Victory for the printers will establish the fact that contract-breaking is a disreputable act and should receive the odium it deserves.

By order of the Executive Council American Federation of Labor:

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

PEACE

What was the first prophetic word that rang
When down the starry sky the angels sang,
That night they came as envoys of the Birth—
What word but peace, "peace and good will on earth?"

And what was the last word the Master said
That parting night when they broke brother-bread,
That night He knew men would not let Him live—
Oh, what but "Peace I leave" and "Peace I give?"

And yet behold: near twice a thousand years
And still the battle-wrath, the grief, the tears
Let mercy speed the hour when swords shall cease,
And men cry back to God, "There shall be peace."

—*Edwin Markham.*

The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people.—*Daniel Webster.*

God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.—*Daniel Webster.*

Correspondence

THE following correspondence between the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the United States is here published, because of the information it contains in relation to a subject upon which action was taken by the American Federation of Labor convention held in June, 1921.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 6, 1921.*

SIR: The forty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor concluded its two weeks sessions in Denver, Colorado, June 25, 1921. Among the many resolutions and matters receiving the attention of the convention was the following:

"WHEREAS, On the 8th day of September, 1919, in Hammond, Indiana, four steel car workers (one of whom wore the uniform of an American overseas soldier and had just returned from patriotic service to this country) who were striving to better their condition in life economically, morally and physically through the agency of a strike, were shot down and killed by armed policemen employed by the city of Hammond and armed guards employed by the Standard Steel Car Company, and at the same time and place by the same parties many other workmen seeking to obtain the same ends were shot down and seriously wounded; and

"WHEREAS, A judicious, painstaking investigation of this transaction has established facts tending strongly to establish a conspiracy to bring about this dreadful result; and

"WHEREAS, During a judicial investigation concerning this transaction two of the Standard Steel guards testified based upon their own knowledge and under oath, that some of the riot guns used by the guards in this transaction were at the time of this fatality using the property of the government of the United States; and

"WHEREAS, While all of the above circumstances constitute a dreadful indictment of the methods followed by employers of labor in suppressing the assertion by employes of their rights, the circumstances of the using of riot guns by the employers belonging to the government of the United States, as above testified, constitutes a fact of such vital and dreadful significance that to permit the same to pass unnoticed would constitute upon the part of those interested in organized labor an act of indifference towards the government under which they exist which could not be characterized otherwise than as unpatriotic; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this convention reprobate in unmeasured terms such conduct and place itself upon record as requesting both individual and collective action upon the part of all interested in organized labor (because the victims in this case belonged to organized labor) to ascertain the actual facts in relation to the use of these barbarous weapons and to rescue our government from the stigma which attaches to this astounding disclosure, by fixing responsibility upon such individual officers, servants or representatives of the government who shall be found personally responsible for this great outrage against legal and natural right; and that the American Federation of Labor, through its Washington representatives, lay this matter before the President of the United States that he order an investigation as to who was responsible for the issuing of the guns."

The convention adopted the resolution. In conformity therewith I am placing the matter before you for your consideration and I trust we may be favored with a reply at as early a date as convenient.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

Honorable WARREN G. HARDING,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1921.

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: Referring to your letter of August 18th, I wish to say that I have caused an investigation to be made by the Inspector General's Department of the War Department, which disclosed the following:

During the War the Standard Steel Car Company was engaged in the production of gun carriages for the War Department under a contract based on a fixed profit plus cost of production and cost of over-head expenses. This contract was finally completed on September 26, 1919. Under the heading of "plant protection" the Ordnance Department of the Army issued regulations which required all producing contractors to arm certain of their civilian employes as plant guards. Under these regulations the War Department agreed to furnish the arms for the guards, but due to delay in receiving such arms in this case the Company, in March and May, 1918, itself purchased 30 Winchester Repeating Shot Guns. The Government eventually reimbursed the Company for the purchase of these shot guns as their purchase price was included in the over-head expenses as part of the cost under the contract. Ownership of the guns vested in the Company, however, and on final settlement of the contract on September 26, 1919, that ownership was recognized and continued by the Government.

Incident to the strike which occurred during the summer of 1919, while the contract of the Standard Steel Car Company was still uncompleted, a clash occurred between the strikers and the civil police of Hammond, Ind., during which four strikers were killed and about twenty were wounded. The guards of the Standard Steel Car Company had been previously sworn in as policemen of Hammond under the laws of Indiana, and during the clash of Sept. 8, 1919, those guards were summoned by the Chief of the civil police to render him assistance. Those guards responded and participated in the clash, and were at the time armed with the identical Winchester shot guns purchased as aforestated. Those guns were not the property of the United States Government. In responding to this summons from the Chief of Police of Hammond the guards were transported in automobiles which had technically been paid for by the United States since they, like the shot guns, had been charged to over-head expenses in fulfilling the Company's contract with the Government. These automobiles, however, like the shot guns, were not the property of the United States.

During the conditional examination of witnesses on October 28, 1919, before the Superior Court of Lake County, Indiana, in a hearing which grew out of a damage suit against the Standard Steel Car Company incident to the clash of September 8, 1919, several witnesses testified that the shot guns with which the aforestated guards were armed belonged to the Ordnance Department. These witnesses erroneously confused the Ordnance Department of the Standard Steel Car Company with the Ordnance Department of the United States Government. From this confusion of terms grew the misconception of the ownership of the guns in question on which the resolution of the American Federation of Labor was based.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) GEO. B. CHRISTIAN, JR.,
Secretary to the President.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH A MINISTER

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

REV. F. E. TAYLOR, *Oct. 22, 1921.*
First Baptist Church,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR SIR: A friend has sent me a clipping from the Indianapolis *News*, October 18, 1921. For convenience I am quoting here that part of the article having reference to the subject about which I am writing you. It is as follows:

GOMPERS DENOUNCED.

DR. TAYLOR REFERS TO HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIETY AT MEETING.

"The attitude of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in regard to society was denounced by the Rev. F. E. Taylor, pastor of the First Baptist

Church, Meridian and Vermont Streets, at the second monthly banquet of the Brotherhood of the First Baptist Church, Monday night. Dr. Taylor said such a labor leader is a dangerous element in society. Dr. Taylor's remarks were made during a discussion of 'Brotherhood in Religion' and followed the quotation by another speaker from an article by Mr. Gompers in which Gompers made assertions which, it was felt, were inimical to society."

You will note the absence of any definite statement as to any particular words or phrases upon which your declaration is supposed to have been based that I am a "dangerous element in society."

Do you not think that I am entitled to learn from you definitely the grounds upon which you are alleged to have made that statement? With due respect I ask that you will furnish it to me.

Under separate cover I am mailing you two pamphlets entitled "An Open Letter to Ministers of the Gospel," and "Letters to a Bishop," to which your attention is invited.

Hoping for an answer at your early convenience, I am

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
FREDERICK E. TAYLOR, D. D., Pastor
1935 North Meridian St.
Indianapolis

Oct. 29, 1921.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: Yours of the 22nd is before me and I regret that the reporter did not give the rest of the address in which I spoke of the good of the labor union movement and said it was here and rightfully here and here to stay. Indeed you would have been pleased to hear what was said about the enemies of the movement and the good things about the movement itself. With most of the ideas of the movement I am in hearty accord and have said so many times. In fact I am for the working man and always have been and anything for his good I am with. Of course I can not feel that any one group of men ever has the right to dominate any other group in this country, but on the whole you and I would agree on many of the ideals of your organization. We are both working for the same thing, the welfare of our fellowmen and if you were in my congregation you would say that the labor man always had a square deal.

With best wishes, I am Cordially yours,

(Signed) FREDERICK E. TAYLOR.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Oct. 31, 1921.*

REV. F. E. TAYLOR,
First Baptist Church,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of October 29th has been duly received. I am interested in all that you say regarding your sympathy and support of the labor movement. However, may I call your attention to the fact that while you have written me fully and thoroughly as to your sympathy with the working man and the labor movement yet you have failed to reply to my letter of October 22nd. In my previous letter to you I quoted from the newspaper article having reference to a statement which you made regarding myself, and then I said:

"You will note the absence of any definite statement as to any particular words or phrases upon which your declaration is supposed to have been based that I am a 'dangerous element to society.'

"Do you not think that I am entitled to learn from you definitely the grounds upon which you are alleged to have made that statement? With due respect I ask that you will furnish it to me."

I repeat my request that you advise me as to the ground upon which you base your statement. Very truly yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Report of the Legislative Committee

NEARLY four hundred bills have been introduced in Congress in which labor is more or less interested. Seventy-five of them affect the wage earners directly. The enemies of labor on the outside and the labor baiters on the inside of Congress have kept the hopper sizzling with reactionary measures. Were it not for the fact that there are a sufficient number of friends of labor "on the hill," gained through the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor, most vicious legislation would already have been enacted.

The same interests that are attacking labor are also directing their assaults on the farmers. The National Founders' Association, which has turned back the wheels of progress in America wherever possible, is sending a weekly letter to members of Congress. It is signed by William H. Barr, its president. Weekly letter No. 198 contains a most vicious attack upon the farmers. After condemning Congress for not enslaving labor Mr. Barr declares that he and his kind are "still waiting to have the agricultural bloc in the Senate told what the public thinks of its selfish program." He then asks:

> Is this merely an agrarian Congress or is it a Congress of all the people? The farmers should remember that a dog in the manger policy is both dangerous and unpatriotic.

Mr. Barr is very angry at Congress because it has not enacted an anti-railroad strike law. He is the Barr of questionable fame who speaks for those who believe that labor is a commodity and that the 13th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is an encroachment on the rights and privileges of employers.

The Philadelphia Bourse, a member of the United States Chamber of Commerce, is also flooding members of Congress with propaganda against the railroad employes. In a recent circular it called upon that legislative body to amend the Transportation Act of 1920 so that it will "declare operating employes of public service corporations public servants and as such not free to leave the service simultaneously, or approximately so, or at any time except upon due and sufficient notice."

Coolie Labor for Hawaii

The sugar planters of Hawaii are still confident that they will prevail upon Congress to admit Chinese coolies under bond to the Islands. Emissaries of the sugar planters on their return to Honolulu declared that the "coolie" resolution "stands a good chance of passing." They say, however, that it can not be expected before January or February.

Members of the House Committee on Immigration will refuse to report the bill. Chairman Johnson at a meeting of the committee said that the bill would not be sent to the House unless ordered by the committee. His declaration means that the report will be reconsidered and the bill killed, as a majority of the committee now say they are opposed to its provisions.

The hope of the sugar planters lies in the Senate, as they have been led to believe that the members of the so-called emergency labor commission have everything set for its passage. But the Committee on Immigration of the Senate had not taken any action when this was written and the impression appeared to be that it would avoid going on record in the matter.

In their great desire to employ low wage labor the Hawaiian sugar planters have ordered another reduction in wages. The wages of unskilled male plantation cane workers will be reduced to $26 per month, a drop of $4, and the women will be reduced to $19.50 from $22.50.

Mr. Pablo Manlapit, president of the Filipino Labor Union of the Territory of Hawaii, in behalf of the Filipino laborers and at the request of delegates from the various plantations, has petitioned the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to rescind its action. The petition is as follows:

To the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association:

I, Pablo Manlapit, president of the Filipino Labor Union of the Territory of Hawaii, on behalf of the Filipino laborers and at their request and at the request of delegates from the various plantations, respectfully petition your honorable body to reconsider your decision published October 13, 1921, wherein the pay of the laborers on the various sugar plantations was reduced from a basic wage of $30 for men to $26 per month, and for women from $22.50 to $19.50 per month.

I petition for this reconsideration for the following reasons:

1. The high cost of living has not been reduced,

as the prices of the supplies used by the laborers have not been reduced in anything like the proportion of the proposed cut in the wages. The laborers have a hard time supplying themselves and their families on the old wage scale, and the new wage scale being put into effect will simply mean that the laborers will continue to work at a loss, which they can not continue to do, consequently they will leave the plantations and return to their homes in the Philippines as speedily as possible, or else seek occupations in Hawaii.

2. I admit, as set forth in your proclamation of October 13th, 1921, that the sugar industry in Hawaii is facing a crisis. It is facing a test as to whether the laborers can trust their employers to be fair to them when an emergency arises. Your wage and bonus schedule effective on November 1, 1921, which fixes the old scale of wages, says: "The right is reserved to withdraw this schedule at any time on giving 30 days' notice in the English language of such withdrawal."

And yet on the 13th day of October, 1921, you give notice of a change of wages reducing your employes' pay to take effect on the first day of November, 1921, giving the laborers no chance to readjust themselves to the new conditions, and breaking your plighted word. There is no question but that at present the so-called "crisis" in the sugar industry is not so much due to the price of sugar, because some years ago 4 cent sugar resulted in tremendous dividends being paid to the stockholders of the plantations, but because there is a great shortage of labor on the plantations. I therefore believe that the remaining laborers should not now be discriminated against, so as to create a greater shortage of labor and make the men and women feel that they are not being treated fairly, and that the word of the Sugar Planters' Association means nothing and can not be relied on.

3. The best efforts can only be given by a laborer to his employer when that laborer is contented and has confidence in the justice of his employer. The laborers remaining upon the plantations have been called upon to make greater exertions to harvest the crops by reason of the great shortage of labor. I believe you will admit that the Filipino laborers have done this and they have loyally remained working for the best interests of the plantations. If, however, they are not accorded fair treatment they will lose heart, become discontented and their efficiency will be decreased to a considerable degree. And I believe that the sugar plantations will lose far more by this loss of efficiency than they would by continuing the present basic scale of wages.

4. If the lower wage scale of $26 per month for men is continued in force I frankly state that all of the Filipino laborers who can will prepare to leave their employment on the plantations because they can not live on the reduced scale of wages and they can not continue to work at a loss. They will probably either return to the Philippines as soon as they are able to do so under their agreements with the plantations, or they will seek for work in other branches of industry. Even if many do remain on the plantations those who leave (and it will naturally be those who are most efficient and are anxious to better themselves) will thus further cripple the plantations at their time of greatest need and will further to such an extent increase the shortage of labor that the plantations will really come to the condition that they claim they have come to now, on which point I respectfully disagree from them, of continuing their operations at a loss; and if the plantations have caused their laborers to be dissatisfied by a proceeding which the laborers can not but believe to be one which is unfair and unjust then, no matter what inducements are given to the laborers in the future, the Filipinos will never again return to the plantations as laborers.

5. It is well-known to your honorable body that in view of the agitation and complaints of certain of the returned laborers the Filipino government has looked with considerable disfavor upon the emigration of Filipinos to Hawaii as plantation laborers, believing that they are unjustly treated here. This impression has been to a great extent obliterated by the visit and report of investigators sent from the Philippines, but if the representations they made of the good faith of the planters are found to be false by reports coming from Hawaii of the changes made by your honorable body as soon as these investigators had left the country, and the consequent dissatisfaction of the Filipino laborers, then not only do we believe that future emigration to Hawaii will be prohibited but action will be taken by the Filipino government to recall all of its discontented laborers.

6. I believe that this is the time when the sugar planters are trying to convince the governmental authorities at Washington that they are anxious "to Americanize (?) Hawaii" by treating their laborers as residents in America should be treated, and they should avoid an oppressive measure such as their order of October 13, 1921, which would show to the authorities in Washington that they are not anxious to look after the well-being of their employes, but endeavor to force them to work for starvation wages in order that the dividends of the capitalists shall not be decreased. And I believe that representations of such action, if forwarded to Washington at this time, will do more to injure the cause of the sugar planters in the bills at present before Congress than any other action could do.

For these reasons, and not because of any desire to hamper or impede the work of the sugar plantations, I make this appeal to you, actuated by my desire to act for the best interests of the Territory, and anxious to cooperate with you in any way to keep the sugar industry on a financial paying basis.

I respectfully submit that my arguments are sound and that the obnoxious and unfair order, a breach of your agreement of November 1st, 1921, should be rescinded. Respectfully, Pablo Manlapit, President, Filipino Labor Union.

It will be seen by the letter that while the sugar planters are claiming a shortage of labor they are simply crying "wolf" to induce Congress to admit Chinese coolies. They want to get rid of the Filipinos who are peculiarly adapted to employment in Hawaii in order that their claim of labor shortage can be substantiated. The object of the reduction in wages is understood to be for the purpose of forcing the plantation workers to strike or leave the country or

both. It is being pointed to as a most cruel method to influence Congress into passing the coolie bill. It is also charged that thousands of Filipino and Porto Rican laborers are arranging to immigrate to the Islands and that a strike is to be precipitated by the sugar planters to head them off.

The Honolulu newspapers that are urging the admission of thousands of coolies under bond are devising other ways and means of reducing wages on the Islands. The *Star Bulletin* of Honolulu is taking quite an interest in this feature of "reconstruction" work in Hawaii. In a recent issue it strongly advocated reductions in the wages of labor in two occupations—"house servants and yard boys."

Department of Labor

Walter F. Brown, of Toledo, Ohio, a personal appointee of President Harding to reorganize the various departments of the government, is still more or less busily at work in an effort to destroy the Department of Labor and build on its ashes a so-called department of "welfare." The Department of Labor is a most necessary function of the government. It was intended that it should be manned by practical, experienced men, who had had experience in the industrial life of our nation. But in answer to the demands of the profiteering interests that thrived on the people of America during the war it is now intended to abolish the department because of its too practical and beneficent work for the wage earners of our land.

Mr. Brown is ostensibly chairman of a joint committee composed of three members of the House and three members of the Senate. This committee has not met since April 17. In fact there is quite a growing prejudice against Mr. Brown's "bureau of efficiency" and the pathway to success it was intended he should travel is not strewn with the usual roses. He is very much tired of his job because of the opposition that has developed. Even members of Mr. Brown's committee are outspoken in their opposition to the proposed plans of the chairman and his backers. One of them declared that in his opinion a department of "welfare" would be inefficient, would be dominated by the dilletanti and the theorists and that he was opposed to such an ill-advised and ill-considered program as had been proposed by Mr. Brown.

While the people outside of Washington believe that the government consists of the legislative, executive and judicial branches, members of Congress are saying that it is composed of the judiciary, the Senate, Mr. Charles E. Dawes, Bureau of the Budget and Mr. Walter F. Brown's Bureau of Efficiency. There is growing opposition to outsiders being brought to Washington to run the government. This feeling is becoming so pronounced that it argues well for the defeat of any proposition presented by the "Bureau of Efficiency" to destroy, emasculate or amalgamate the Department of Labor.

Sales Tax

Notwithstanding the great opposition to the "sales tax" several attempts were made during the past month to foist that unjust system upon the masses of our people. Instead of a "sales tax" it should be called a "buyers tax." The vender collects it. He also can charge a profit on the tax and the payer will not know it. Senator Smoot, who has made himself sponsor for this legislation, in a statement to the press declared that he would re-introduce it in every Congress until it became a law.

There is a growing sentiment among Congressmen that it is necessary to relieve the well-to-do from taxation in order to keep them honest. It is contended that as certain revenues have to be raised the taxes must be placed upon those who can not dodge them. The next attempt to pass the "sales tax" will be along new lines. It is proposed to carry the bill through Congress on the backs of the soldiers and sailors who served so loyally in the Great War. They will be told that the "overturn sales tax" is for their benefit and that the money thus raised will be given to them in additional compensation. It is believed by those leading this campaign that the soldiers can be bought to support the "sales tax." But they underestimate the honor of the ex-service men.

The American Federation of Labor has pledged itself to support any proposal to adequately compensate those who took part in the Great War. It does not believe, however, that the soldiers and sailors will

permit themselves to be used in the scheme to shift the burden of taxation from the well-to-do to those least able to bear it. The same men who are advocating this method of sneaking such a law through Congress voted to repeal the excess profits tax, to levy a "manufacturers sales tax" and are in favor of every reactionary bit of legislation introduced in Congress.

The value of the manufactured products alone in the United States in 1920 was $63,000,000,000. If an "overturn sales tax" from the raw material to the consumer would be honestly spread the amount collected would be at least $2,000,000,000. If the "overturn sales tax" were loaded the consumers would pay three or four billion dollars while the venders would turn in less than $2,000,000,000. Carried out to its logical conclusion the masses of our people would become tax serfs and pay nearly all the costs of government. Those with plenty would not know they were taxed but those who were forced to struggle for a mere existence would find the burden too heavy to bear.

Good Roads

S. 1072, an act to provide that the United States shall aid the states in the construction of rural post roads, has become a law. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the act, $75,000,000 is appropriated, $25,000,000 of which is immediately available and $50,000,000 after six months. The act also provides for the survey, construction, reconstruction, etc., of forest roads and trails, and appropriates $5,000,000 for the first year and $10,000,000 for the second.

Maternity and Infancy

S. 1039 providing "for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy" was passed by Congress and signed by the President. It appropriates $10,000 to be paid each state for the first year and $5,000 for each subsequent year for five years. These sums are given outright to the states. In addition the bill provides what are classed as "additional appropriations" of $1,000,000 for the year ending June 30, 1922, and $1,000,000 annually thereafter for a period of five years, to be matched dollar for dollar by the states on a basis of population. The Children's Bureau is allowed $50,000 for meeting the expenses of the administration of the act. The maximum total possible expense to the government for a five year period is $6,770,000.

A board of maternity and infant hygiene is created. It will consist of the chief of the Children's Bureau, the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service and the United States Commissioner of Education. The agitation for the laws began in the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor. A resolution was then adopted declaring that as the infant death rate of the United States was the eleventh in the list of countries keeping statistics that it was the public duty of our country to protect the health of mothers and young children.

To that end Congress was urged to "cooperate with the states in providing funds and in organizing and in caring for the health, medical, nursing and instructional services necessary to secure reasonable care for every mother and young child."

Panama Canal

While the net earnings of the Panama Canal were more than $2,000,000 the past year a commission appointed by the Secretary of War recommended that wages be reduced, that the employes be charged house rent, light and heat and transportation to and from work, all of which has been free heretofore. The changes will reduce the wages of the employes of the navy yards and naval bases in the Canal Zone upward of $90 per month per man.

The commission also recommended, that dealing with employes thereafter whether union or non-union should be through "committees or representatives composed of employes whether representatives of labor organizations or not." In the matter of wages it was ordered that it would not be necessary to pay the union rates of the United States but rates "actually paid for similar services in various representative parts of the United States whether it be union or non-union rates."

All agreements limiting the use of alien laborers were ordered abrogated and their wider use recommended by the Commission. Secretary Weeks approved of the recommendations of the commission but modified those on alien labor by providing that aliens

could not work in responsible positions. The action of the Secretary on the recommendations of the commission destroys collective bargaining in the Canal Zone. It is a most reactionary decision and strikes a blow at the economic advancement of the citizen wage earners employed in the Canal Zone. The employes affected have entered protest to Congress and appealed for relief.

Monthly Labor Review

The continued publication of the *Monthly Labor Review* after the December issue is still uncertain. A joint resolution (No. 132) has been passed by the Senate placing in the joint committee on printing the power of deciding what journals, periodicals or similar publications shall be published or discontinued. The committee on printing of the House reported the bill favorably with an amendment providing that all publications previously ordered by Congress to be discontinued December 1, shall continue to be published until May 1. The object is to give the joint committee further time to select those that will be permitted to be printed.

Fixing Wages By Commission

S. 2557 and S. 2558 introduced by Senator Kenyon ostensibly provide for the collection of data on the costs of production and distribution of coal. They also provide that in the case of an emergency the President shall be empowered to take over the mines. An "emergency" would be when the miners in order to protect their interests would cease work. In the event that such a condition should arise the government could decide the wages and conditions of employment of the mine workers, fix the price of coal at the mines and to the consumers wherever they may be located. Such a law would establish the principle that the government, through a commission, may arrogate to itself to arbitrarily determine the wages and condition of employment of groups of workers in any or all industries. The bills will be opposed.

Shackling Men to Their Jobs

The Poindexter bill, which was passed by the Senate in the 66th Congress by trickery and reintroduced into the present Congress, has been reported to the Senate and is on the calendar. It is known as S.16 and provides a penalty of $10,000 fine or imprisonment not exceeding ten years or both for any official of a trade union who advises any person or persons employed in the production or operation of any mines or agency of interstate commerce to quit such employment.

Conclusion

The two most dangerous campaigns hostile to the rights and interests of the people and labor now faced by the trade union movement are the efforts to abolish the Department of Labor and the nefarious attempt of the millionaire sugar planters of Hawaii to secure the admission of Chinese coolies under bond into the Hawaiian Islands. While it is believed the instigators of these vicious schemes will have rough sledding in gaining their ends, the sentiment is rapidly growing in Congress that it will be too much of a backward step to carry out such legislation. Even the most faithful reactionaries can not see their way clear to force such legislation.

Members of the House say the coolie bill can not pass, but they warn labor to look out for the Senate and add:

> They will pass anything in the Senate.

Because of this fact it is necessary that the closest attention be given to all the moves in the Senate. This not only pertains to the abolition of the Department of Labor and the admission of Chinese coolies into Hawaii but the proposed "federal coal act" which provides in certain emergencies that wages and prices of coal shall be fixed by the government. An attempt was made in the last Senate to pass a similar bill sponsored by Senator Calder, but it failed. In this Congress, Senator Kenyon was induced to introduce the bill. It was believed that because Senator Kenyon was regarded as friendly to labor that the workers would lose sight of the dangers hidden in the obnoxious measure.

Every trick and subterfuge will be used not only to railroad this bill through the Senate but to admit Chinese into Hawaii and abolish the Department of Labor. While there are four hundred measures directly or indirectly affecting labor to be considered by Congress, your representatives feel that the reactionary forces are

gradually losing ground and that the most vicious of the measures will be defeated. The fact that the enemies of labor are active in the spreading of malicious propaganda makes it imperative that every move be watched with the utmost care. These are days when publicity for labor's side of every controversy is most necessary. The officials of all national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local and federal labor unions should not lose an opportunity to express their disapproval of legislation so vitally affecting the interests of the wage earners and therefore of all the people.

W. C. ROBERTS,
E. F. MCGRADY,
EDGAR WALLACE,
Legislative Representatives,
American Federation of Labor.

THE SONG OF THE LOWER CLASSES

By ERNEST JONES

Our readers will be interested in knowing that this poem, by the well-known Chartist leader and poet was written, with several others of a similar kind while the poet was in prison, with pens made from rook's feathers picked up by him in the prison yard, and sharpened by the razor lent him for his toilet. His ink was stored in a piece of soap hollowed to receive it from the bottle supplied for the purpose of his quarterly letter, and the paper, such as he was able to secrete at such times. Ernest Jones was the son of Major Charles Jones, a Peninsular and Waterloo veteran, who was afterwards equerry to the king. The son's career, was one of the noblest self-sacrifice in the cause of democracy. He refused a fortune of 2,000 pounds a year offered him by an uncle sooner than give up Chartism and accepted a life of poverty and imprisonment instead.—ED.

We plough and we sow—we're so very, very low,
That we delve in the dirty clay,
Till we bless the plain—with golden grain,
And the vale with fragrant hay.
Our place we know—we're so very low,
Tis down at the landlord's feet,
We're not too low the bread to grow,
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go—we're so very, very low,
To the hell of the deep-sunk mines,
But we gather the proudest gems that glow
When the crown of the despot shines.
And, whenever he lacks upon our backs,
Fresh loads he designs to lay;
We're far too low to vote the tax,
But we're not too low to pay.

We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know,
But at our plastic power,
The mould at the lordling's feet will grow
Into palace and church and tower—
Then prostrate fall, in the rich man's hall,
And cringe at the rich man's door;
We're not too low to build the wall,
But too low to tread the floor.

We're low, we're low, we're very, very low,
Yet from our fingers glide
The silken flow—and the robes that glow
Round the limbs of the sons of pride;
And what we get—and what we give,
We know, and we know our share
We're not too low the cloth to weave,
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low, we're very, very low,
And yet, when the trumpets ring,
The thrust of the poor man's arm will go,
Thro' the heart of the proudest king.
We're low, we're low, our place we know,
We're only the rank and file,
We're not too low—to kill the foe,
But too low to touch the spoil.

—*From "Poets of the Century"—Hutchinson.*

WHAT OUR ORGANIZERS ARE DOING

FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC

FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Laundry Workers

Harry L. Morrison.—State of employment is fair and is improving. A new local union has been organized in Pana, Ill. Our total membership is 7,000. We are conducting an organizing campaign in California.

Machine Printers and Color Mixers

Edwin Gentzler.—We have 10 local unions with a membership of 485. Since August 1 there has been a lockout among our members in the following cities: Plattsburgh, Niagara Falls, Glens Falls, Hudson Falls and Brooklyn, N. Y.; New Brunswick and Hackensack, N. J.; Worcester, Mass., and New Brighton and Philadelphia, Pa., against the non-union shop. The result is still to be determined and our men are standing firm in opposition to non-union shop, despite all attempts to disrupt. The union members affected total 220 for the relief of whom $5,000 has already been expended. State of employment is improving. We effected new agreements with 16 wall paper manufacturers, retaining same wages and hours as in last agreement.

Metal Engravers

Geo. D. Ness.—We now have 5 local unions with a total membership of 128. State of employment is improving.

Powder and High Explosive Workers

G. H. Chapman.—We have 7 local unions with a total membership of 249. About 50 of our members are unemployed. State of employment is poor.

Print Cutters

R. Heinl.—We have 5 local unions with a total membership of 369. A death occurred in our ranks which resulted in an expenditure of $200. For the relief of our unemployed, a total of 300 persons, $7,000 was expended. In Hackensack and New Brunswick, New Jersey; Worcester, Mass.; and Hudson and Glen Falls, N. Y., there has been a strike against the non-union shop, lasting 12 weeks. We now have more than 200 back at work in union shops and 68 still out. There has been an increase granted of 5 cents per hour.

Railroad Telegraphers

E. J. Manion.—We have 50,000 members. Thirteen deaths occurred, resulting in an expenditure of $10,500. State of employment is fair and is improving. Seven thousand five hundred men are out of work. We are taking a national strike vote to ascertain wishes of constituency on maintaining wages prior to reduction under compulsory arbitration.

Sleeping Car Conductors

W. O. Murphy.—Three deaths occurred resulting in an expenditure of $3,000. State of employment is not good. We have 36 local unions with a membership of 2,600.

Steel and Copper Plate Engravers

A. J. Marsh.—We have 9 local unions with a total membership of 338. A lockout, affecting 35 members of Chicago local, is pending.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association

John A. Frew.—State of employment is good. We have three local unions with a total membership of 79. Sixty dollars have been spent for our unemployed.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers

J. B. Bowen.—We now have 242 local unions with a total membership of 8,000. Five deaths have occurred, resulting in expenditures of $900. State of employment is fair.

FROM DISTRICT, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZERS

ARKANSAS

Eldorado.—Joe French:

The hotels, restaurants, building trades and oil fields have reduced forces. No plants have closed down, however. Three oil refineries have opened up. Quite a few of our business houses handle union-labeled goods. An organizing campaign has been started in this vicinity.

Little Rock.—Matt Lewis:

Lumber milling, oil and railroads are the chief industries here. The railroad company has laid off about 50 men in the shop department; the freight department, however, has put about 30 men to work. The union-labeled goods are demanded by all union workers.

Little Rock.—L. W. Lowry:

Missouri Pacific Railway Company has temporarily laid off about 400 workers in each plant. The Western Union and S. W. Bell Phone Company have company unions for their employes. We are taking the initiative in preparations for disarmament program on November 11.

CALIFORNIA

Eureka.—N. M. Palmer:

The Hammon Lumber Co. has laid off workers.

Democracy

"—of the people, by the people, for the people"

People of every walk of life, in every state in the Union, are represented in the ownership of the Bell Telephone System. People from every class of telephone users, members of every trade, profession and business, as well as thousands of trust funds, are partners in this greatest investment democracy which is made up of the more than 175,000 stockholders of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

If this great body of people clasped hands they would form a line more than 150 miles long. Marching by your door, it would take more than 48 hours of ceaseless tramping for the line to pass.

This democracy of Bell telephone owners is greater in number than the entire population of one of our states; and more than half of its owners are women.

There is one Bell telephone shareholder for every 34 telephone subscribers. No other great industry has so democratic a distribution of its shares; no other industry is so completely owned by the people it serves. In the truest sense, the Bell System is an organization "of the people, by the people, for the people."

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Bell System gives the best and cheapest telephone service to be found anywhere in the world.

"BELL SYSTEM"

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy, One System, Universal Service, and all directed toward Better Service

THE ATLANTIC REFINING CO.
Petroleum Products
Made in America by American Labor
and known all over the world.
Philadelphia Pittsburgh Brunswick

A masonic temple is being built. All unions are putting up a hard fight against the non-union shop advocates. Good work is being done to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

Riverside.—Albert J. Tingleaf:
The Orange Machinery Company have taken on about ten additional workers. Building trades are opening up. Union labeled goods are being demanded. Local unions of lathers were organized at San Bernardino and Riverside.

San Francisco.—John O. Walsh:
The ship yards have laid off about 2,000 workers. One has gone out of business. The molders have union agreements. The long shore stevedores have company unions which effect the loyal union men very much. Much agitation is being carried on to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

Stockton.—E. G. Florell:
Up to the present time we have been successful in retaining hours and conditions. We are waging a steady fight against the non-union shop movement here. Employment is steady among the organized workers but unemployment exists among the unorganized.

Visalia.—F. C. Hunt:
Only one plant running now. Four canneries have closed down. A five-story hotel is going up at Tulare, but unfair to organized labor.

COLORADO

Greeley.—W. H. Gardner:
Farming, the making of sugar, and canning are among our chief industries. The sugar company has a welfare association. The non-union shop agitation does not seem to be alive here any longer.

Trinidad.—W. H. Shelly:
Street paving has opened up. Railroads and coal mines comprise the chief industries in this locality. We keep a check as far as possible on all union-labeled goods purchased.

GEORGIA

Augusta.—C. McDaniel:
Condition of employment has slightly improved. The strike continues of the clerks of Silver's ten-cent store. An extensive campaign is being waged by organized labor against patronage of these stores.

IDAHO

Moscow.—Frank Stevens:
All union men are demanding union-labeled goods.

ILLINOIS

Carrier Mills.—E. T. Davis:
A local union of carpenters has been organized and efforts are under way for the organization of the teamsters. Mines that have been idle since the first of April are starting to work. Considerable work is being done on the state road.

Gillespie.—Wm. Willard:
The railroad has laid off some workers. A new building, a large theater, some stores and residences are being put up. Mining is the chief industry in this community and we have a union agreement. Our committee is doing all it can to demand the use of union-labeled goods and fine results have been attained.

Herrin.—W. H. Johnston:
The Central Labor Body has a committee at work preparing for our Armistice Day celebration. Carpenters are busy and require the label on all orders of mill work and store fixtures. Unemployment exists in the mines. Contracts are being let for a new water system to be installed and union labor will be employed.

Pana.—Chas. H. Pierson:
A new laundry workers' union is asking a small increase in wages and a 48-hour week. Employment is not steady. Condition of organized labor is good. The mines are working about one-half time. Everything possible is being done to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

INDIANA

Elkhart.—O. J. Schwartz:
The carpenters are still fighting the American plan. Machinists' local union 163 reports more men have been put back to work. The Elkhart Central Labor Union has united with the American Legion for Armistice Day celebration. We are still waging our fight against the American Plan and the non-union shop.

Kokomo.—C. E. Musselman:
The Haynes & Apperson Automobile Company has discharged 300 men. We have a standing committee of our Central Labor Union visiting

the merchants in an effort to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

Lafayette.—Louis J. Hart:
No establishments here have laid off workers. The railroad shops have union agreements.

New Albany.—Oliver Gunn:
Employment is unsteady. Higher wages are paid to organized workers.

IOWA

Des Moines.—C. R. Milligan:
Several paving jobs and county road work have opened up and a little increase in building can be noticed. Most of our locals are working under agreements. Our label committee is doing good work and the call for labeled goods in increasing. The teamsters' local at their last meeting took in 16 applicants. They have just negotiated 3 new agreements for the coming year. The ladies' bureau of our central body has made arrangements to take over the welfare work of the union for this winter. They have a fine organization and are increasing the membership at each meeting.

Newton.—F. Parker:
The factories in this locality are dismissing employes; work in the building trades is improving and the Wray Tag Company has hired additional workers. Use of union-labeled goods is being advocated.

Waterloo.—Chas. C. MacKay:
Construction work has opened up giving employment. Fourteen workers have been laid off by the two foundries here. Some municipal work including street paving and fixing of parks has opened up. Through the initiative of the Central Labor Union an Unemployment Relief Commission has been organized and a uniform plan of assessing of incomes to amount of one per cent has been adopted. The plan has met with general approval, business men and working men alike doing everything possible to make it a success.

KANSAS

Kansas City.—James W. Barnes:
We have a committee actively at work to promote the use of union-labeled goods. Employment is unsteady in all lines and working forces are still being reduced.

Salina.—C. L. Arterburn:
Workers have been laid off in nearly all crafts. We are trying to get all crafts to get an affiliated agreement. There will be a big demonstration for disarmament here on November 11. All crafts are demanding that union-labeled goods be purchased.

Topeka.—F. A. Sanderson:
The Santa Fe Railroad, which had closed down, has reopened.

KENTUCKY

Madisonville.—J. V. Poag:
Our principal industry here is coal mining and we have an agreement with the operators. We are asking all union men to demand the label.

"I Got the Job!"

"I'm to be Manager of my Department starting Monday. The boss said he had been watching all the men. When he found I had been studying at home with the International Correspondence Schools he knew I had the right stuff in me. Now we can move over to that house on Oakland Avenue and you can have a maid and take things easy. I tell you, Nell, taking that course with the I. C. S. was the best thing I ever did."

Spare-time study with the I. C. S. is winning promotions for thousands of men and bringing happiness to thousands of homes all over the world. In offices, shops, stores, mines, mills and on railroads, I. C. S. trained men are stepping up to big jobs, over the heads of older men, past those whose only qualification is long service.

There is a Job Ahead of YOU

Some man is going to be picked for it. The boss can't take chances. He is going to choose a trained man with sound, practical knowledge of the work.

Get busy right now and put yourself in line for that promotion. You can do it in spare time in your own home through the I. C. S., just as more than two million men have done in the last 30 years, just as more than 130,000 men are doing today.

The first step these men took was to mark and mail this coupon. Make *your* start the same way—and make it now.

TEAR OUT HERE

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS
BOX 7901 SCRANTON, PA.

Without cost or obligation please explain how I can qualify for the position, or in the subject *before* which I have marked an X in the list below:

☐ ELECTRICAL ENGINEER
☐ Electric Lighting & Railways
☐ Electric Wiring
☐ Telegraph Engineer
☐ Telephone Work
☐ MECHANICAL ENGINEER
☐ Mechanical Draftsman
☐ Machine Shop Practice
☐ Toolmaker
☐ Gas Engine Operating
☐ CIVIL ENGINEER
☐ Surveying and Mapping
☐ MINE FOREMAN or ENG'R.
☐ STATIONARY ENGINEER
☐ Marine Engineer
☐ ARCHITECT
☐ Contractor and Builder
☐ Architectural Draftsman
☐ Concrete Builder
☐ Structural Engineer
☐ PLUMBING & HEATING
☐ Sheet Metal Worker
☐ Textile Overseer or Supt.
☐ CHEMIST
☐ Pharmacy
☐ BUSINESS MANAGEM'T
☐ SALESMANSHIP
☐ ADVERTISING
☐ Show Card & Sign Pig.
☐ Railroad Positions
☐ ILLUSTRATING
☐ Cartooning
☐ Private Secretary
☐ Business Correspondent
☐ BOOKKEEPER
☐ Stenographer & Typist
☐ Certified Public Accountant
☐ TRAFFIC MANAGER
☐ Railway Accountant
☐ Commercial Law
☐ GOOD ENGLISH
☐ Common School Subjects
☐ CIVIL SERVICE
☐ Railway Mail Clerk
☐ AUTOMOBILES
☐ Mathematics
☐ Navigation
☐ AGRICULTURE
☐ Poultry Raising ☐ Spanish
☐ BANKING ☐ Teacher

Name.....
7-1-21
Street and No.....
City..... State.....
Occupation.....

PITTSBURGH PLATE CLASS COMPANY
Glass--Mirrors--Paints--Brushes
Warehouses in All Principal Cities

LOUISIANA

Monroe.—J. L. Singhal:
Wages, hours and conditions of work are good. Automobile repair shops and carpenters have been laid off. Electricians have been hired by the City of Monroe. Five saw mills have opened up, with which we have union agreements. Our compensation law has been approved by the legislature.

MAINE

Bangor.—Joseph F. Carr:
Unemployment is still on the increase. Woods labor has been reduced to $1.75 and $2 per day. Condition of organized labor is good; unorganized, poor. Good work is being done to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

Portland.—Edw. C. Donahue:
Paint shops, carpenter shops and paper mills are taking on workers. We have union agreements with the shoe factories. Building construction is opening up. It is rumored that the S. D. Warren Paper Company employes are about to form a company union. State board of arbitration handed down a decision in favor of plumbers and steamfitters at 87½ cents an hour.

MASSACHUSETTS

Walpole.—John J. Fitzhenry:
The painters alone have maintained war-time scale of 90 cents an hour and the 5-day week. The Walpole *Times* is advocating cooperative buying, municipal ownership of street railways, etc. We are urging members to buy union-labeled goods.

MICHIGAN

River Rouge.—Walter Thompson:
The Great Lakes Engraving Works have laid off all but a few. The chief industries in this vicinity are shipbuilding, structural iron work, and bolt and screw works.

MINNESOTA

Duluth.—Chas. Esse:
Road work has opened up and condition of employment is about normal. Retail clerks local nuion has been reorganized.

Rochester.—W. H. Sykes:
The boys who are out of work are taking contracts themselves. Employment is not steady. Organized labor has the preference here. A new charter amendment was recently voted—that home labor must be used first if possible. Our ladies' league has aided us materially in the work for union labels.

MISSISSIPPI

Laurel.—O. C. Smith:
Retail clerks' local union has been reorganized. Construction work has opened up and will relieve unemployment in this vicinity.

MISSOURI

Hannibal.—J. E. Selvey:
Shoe factories and stove foundries are working full time; other industries part time. Building industry is opening up to some extent. Organized workers are employed more steadily than unorganized. We have an active woman's label league.

Sedalia.—Ed Mullaley:
Printers have been granted the 44-hour week without reduction in pay and all shops signed up. Employment is steady. Railroads again have their normal working force. Several public building projects are under way and prospects are promising. A local union of printing pressmen was organized and efforts are under way to organize the bakery workers.

Springfield.—J. R. Moll:
Everything possible is being done to promote the use of union-labeled goods. Railroading is the principal industry in this locality and we have an agreement with the company. Additional workers have been hired by the railroad.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Franklin.—Chas. H. Bean, Jr.:
An injunction has been issued against the striking workers in the paper mills. Paper, textile and needle mills are the principal industries in this locality. We have an agreement with the paper mills.

Laconia.—Thomas F. Ford:
The Laconia Car Company, which has been closed down for a long time, has again resumed operations. Hosiery mills are operating on full time. Unemployment exists in most all lines. We are urging the use of union-labeled goods.

NEW JERSEY

West Hoboken.—William Raymond Ransom:
Employers are trying to lenghen working hours and lower wages. Union agreements exist between employes in silk industry and employers. The American Railway Express Company have laid off from one to forty workers in each plant.

NEW YORK

Buffalo.—Eugene W. Scott:
Pierce Arrow auto plants is now employing 4,230 workers, to work full time again.

New Rochelle.—Edward P. Cotter:
The Jones' Company, makers of speedometers, have reduced working force, about 200 workers being laid off. House construction work has opened up. All plants are working and we have union agreements with nearly every one.

Ogdensburg.—William M. Kelly:
Wages, hours and conditions of work remain the same. Employment is unsteady in all industries. A new paper mill has started up during the past month running with 50 per cent of its capacity. We are putting up a strong fight against the non-union shop movement.

Syracuse.—H. M. Woodward:
Our mayor has appointed a committee to assist in finding work for 11,000 unemployed workers. Continual agitation for the use of union-labeled goods is being carried on. Two churches, one factory and round house are in process of construction.

NORTH CAROLINA

Wilmington.—Zack Lumley:
About 1,200 men have been discharged at the Newport Shipyard and a cut of 5 per cent in wages has been made. We have union agreements with some of the cotton shippers and ship yards.

OHIO

Akron.—L. C. Blackburn:
Rubber industry is starting on an 8-hour basis, a reduction from 10 to 11½ hours per day. An organizing campaign is in progress at this time. Building operations have started. Employment is steady—50 per cent basis. The rubber industry has increased their forces. Some city improvements are under way. Condition of organized labor is good. A new local union of newsboys has been started; also a federal organization.

Findlay.—John F. Bunce:
From 100 to 300 workers in the axle works and machine shops have been laid off.

Glouster.—D. W. Wallace:
The mines are working about 35 per cent. This district is very well organized. The mine workers are standing firm for no reduction in wages. Our committee is doing everything possible to promote the use of union-made goods.

New Paris.—Frank A. Irwin:
The I. Harvester Co., the Wayne Works and the Starr Piano Co. have laid off workers. Several plants have closed down. A union label club has been started and committees are calling on merchants urging them to handle union-made goods. We have attained successful results.

OKLAHOMA

Heavener.—John Bayliss:
The common laborers who were recently organized are making good progress. Efforts are being made to organize the stone masons and electrical workers. We have agreements with coal operators, saw mill owners, railroad shops and contractors for the building industry.

Muskogee.—Ed. Thayer:
Two million dollars will be spent on building of hard surface roads and bridges in this county. Work is opening up in the oil fields, in fact there are less unemployed in this city than there has been in the past five years and everything is running along smoothly.

Oklahoma City.—Victor S. Purdy:
The Oklahoma Railway Company have an association without power for their employes. We have trade agreements with some of the packing houses, building trades and mercantile houses. The non-union shoppers are very active in the printing strike. Prospects are bright for the settling of the building trades strike. The State Federation of Labor is inaugurating a label campaign throughout the state.

PENNSYLVANIA

Bradford.—T. J. Buck:
The iron industry is the chief industry in these parts, but most of the plants are only working half time. We have a union agreement with one plant.

Lebanon.—Elwood B. Watson:
The Bethlehem Steel Company, which organized a company union among its employes, has closed down. Additional workers have been taken on by the handkerchief factory. Everyone is boosting union-labeled goods.

Ridgway.—B. L. Decker:
In the following plants there have been improvements during the past month: Ridgway Dynamo Works, Russel Car and Snow Plow Works, Elk Tanning Co., and the machine shop. The Snow

Look for the Dutch Boy

The Dutch Boy Trade Mark means quality. You'll find it on

White-Lead
Linseed Oil
Flatting Oil
Red-Lead
Bearing Metals
Solder

National Lead Co.

New York Boston Buffalo Cincinnati Cleveland St. Louis Chicago San Francisco

(John T. Lewis & Bros. Co., Philadelphia)
(National Lead & Oil Co., Pittsburgh)

Contracting Engineers Steel and Masonry Construction *Piers and Sheds, Coaling Plants*

Cable Address, Santee New York
Cable Address, Pawnee Havana
Western Union and Lieber Codes Used
Havana Office, Zulueta 36 D

FREDERICK SNARE CORPORATION
Formerly THE SNARE AND TRIEST CO.
8 West 40th Street, New York

Plow Works have put on about 40 additional men. In this community the chief industries are the iron industry, wood, and leather.

Wilkes-Barre.—Wm. J. Kromelbein:

All industries except mining have reduced working forces about 40 per cent. The mines have increased their forces about 5 per cent. No plants have closed down but some are on very short time. The repairing of our highways is under way. A union label league has just been organized and an energetic campaign will be started soon. Armistice Day demontrations will be held November 11. We are trying to defeat William I. Schaffer for Supreme Court Judge and elect Eugene V. Bonniwell.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston.—S. M. Sanders:

Bricklaying, carpentry, phosphate, lumber, bakery, and tinning are among the chief industries in this locality. We are still agitating for the use of union-labeled goods.

Greenville.—C. H. Greene:

Work in the building trades has opened up; textile mills are running full time and some have started their night shifts. South Carolina State Federation of Labor held their convention here this fall.

TENNESSEE

Kingsport.—L. D. Fletcher:

Additional workers have been hired in the kodak plant. We expect to be able to get some of the firms here to enter into union agreements soon. The merchants are buying union-labeled goods.

Knoxville.—W. K. Wolfe:

Both Southern Railway and L. & N. Railway have taken back a number of men and employment has become reasonably steady. The Knoxville Spinning Company has put on a night shift.

TEXAS

Breckenridge.—Caleb C. Smith:

A local union of tailors was organized. Conditions of employment are normal. Oil field workers are organized and we have an agreement with the company. At all meetings members are urged to demand union-labeled goods.

Brownwood.—C. A. Perkins:

Typographical union of Brownwood has called out men on strike order from two offices in consequence of noncompliance with 44-hour demand. Loyal union men persist in purchasing only union-made goods.

Corsicana.—H. E. Smalling:

Owing to oil operations work is on the increase. The cotton factories have laid off about 175 workers. We are all demanding the union label.

Ennis.—M. H. Turner:

The railroad shops have taken on about 400 workers in each plant. Railroading, building trades and oil mills are the principal industries in this locality. We have an agreement with the railroad shops. A local union of painters was organized.

Lufkin.—John Yarbrough:

Several agreements have been obtained by the carpenters here with contractors. Machinists have some idle men. There is a rumor that wages in the lumber industry will be increased. We are making an effort to organize the teamsters.

Mineral Wells.—N. W. Cunningham:

Conditions in the Ashburn road building company have improved greatly. No establishments have laid off workers. We are making an effort to open the T. & P. coal mines. The non-union shop movement here fails to find any encouragement. We are inducing our merchants to handle union-labeled goods.

San Antonio.—J. H. Barefield:

During the past month no workers have been laid off, and additional workers have been hired in the building industries. Chief industries in this locality are railroad, building and common labor. We are urging all members to purchase union-labeled goods.

San Antonio.—C. F. Russi:

All manufacturing concerns have cut forces about 10 per cent. No plants have closed down. Traction and electric light company have union agreements. Agitation is being carried on to promote the use of union-labeled goods and an increase in the sales have been noticed.

VIRGINIA

Portsmouth.—Jas. H. Wilson:

Seaboard Air Line Railway has put several hundred men of all trades to work in the machinery department. Wages, 77 cents per hour for an 8-hour day, with straight time for Sunday work. Norfolk water front machine shops and the Iron Masters' Association have laid off workers. New men have been put to work in the building trades. Street cleaning has begun in this district. Chief industries are as follows: Ship building, railroad industry, knitting, and lumber milling. The Central Labor Union has a live committee at work to promote the use of union-made goods.

Richmond.—Robert E. Burford:

The railroads, the factories and the building trades have added additional workers to their forces.

WASHINGTON

Walla Walla.—C. D. Semple:

Employment is steady. Fort Walla Walla is being remodeled into a hospital for crippled soldiers

James Stewart & Company, Inc.

OFFICE BUILDINGS
RAILWAY BUILDINGS
MANUFACTURING PLANTS
GRAIN ELEVATORS
REINFORCED CONCRETE

Contractors

DREDGING
DOCK WORKS, ETC.
OIL PIPE LINES
TANK FARMS
PUMPING STATIONS, ETC.

30 CHURCH STREET - - - NEW YORK

at a cost of $500,000. The workers here won out in their fight with the contractors.

WEST VIRGINIA

Adrian.—J. P. Cutright:
About 65 per cent of the men employed in the lumber industry have been dismissed. We have union agreements with most of our lumber plants.

Barber.—Homer James:
Local unions of retail clerks at Charleston, bakery workers and chauffeurs at Montgomery, have been organized. Injunctions have been issued against the mine workers. We have agreements with some of our glass plants, saw mills and chemical plants here.

Clarksburg.—Harry Kidd:
Workers here are working about half time. A glass factory has opened up. We are doing everything within our power to promote the use of union-labeled goods.

Fairmont.—W. E. Davis:
Some street paving is being done by the city. Workers in the mines have been laid off. We have agreements with the mine operators and glass factories here. All members are demanding union-labeled goods.

Fairmont.—Lula Montgomery:
Factories and mines have laid off workers. We have an agreement with coal operators. We are busy organizing women's label leagues and during past month formed leagues at Clifton, Riversville, Lost Creek and Laure Lee.

Grafton.—C. W. Poe:
The Glass Houses Company have put on about 50 men in each of their plants. We have union agreements with the potteries and railroad shops. Armistice Day celebration is getting fine support of all organizations in this country.

Lumberport.—Jack Nye:
Employment is steady in the glass factory and in the coal mine. The glass works have doubled their forces since last report. Condition of organized labor is good. Some stores here are handling union-labeled goods.

Williamstown.—John B. Easton:
The principal industries in this locality are textile mills, garment trades, steel and glass factories, oil refineries and we have agreements with all of them, except the refinery owned by the Standard Oil Company. There is a rumor that the steel mills are contemplating the non-union shop. We are asking for the union label on all goods purchased.

WISCONSIN

La Crosse.—F. O. Wells:
The C. B. & Q. R. R. has hired about 50 additional men to work in the car department. The making of plows and rubber mills are the chief industries here. We are demanding the union label at all stores.

WYOMING

Greybull.—John P. O'Rourke:
The C. B. & Q. railroad has put back some men. The Standard Oil Company has laid off about 60 men. The work on the water mains and tanks will be done by organized labor. Our label league is demanding the use of union-labeled goods.

CANADA

Quebec.—O. Lemay:
The shoe workers have received improved conditions. The railroads have laid off some men. Some additional city laborers have been hired. The chief industries are shoe making, railroad shop work and canning.

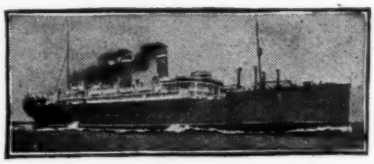
St. Catherines, Ont.—Peter Grant:
The unemployed situation is still very acute here. The visit from Organizer John A. Flett was much appreciated and we feel his visit will be productive of good results.

St. Johns, N. B.—F. A. Campbell:
A local union of garment workers has been organized. Employment is steady and we have agreements with some of the cotton and nail mills.

Subscribe to the
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST
$1 a Year

Norwegian America LINE

Direct service to NORWAY with close connections to SWEDEN, DENMARK, FINLAND and the CONTINENT



Modern twin-screw passenger and mail Steamers "STAVANGERFJORD" (12978 Tons) and "BERGENSFJORD" (10709 Tons) equipped for SAFETY and COMFORT. Excellent accommodations and cuisine.

For further information apply to Agents or to

NORWEGIAN AMERICA LINE AGENCY, INC.
Whitehall and Bridge Streets
NEW YORK, N. Y.

NEW YORK BOSTON CHICAGO

"PENNANT"
BRAND

The National Salted Peanut

SOLD EVERYWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES

PLANTERS NUT & CHOCOLATE CO.
WILKES-BARRE, PA. SUFFOLK, VA.
SAN FRANCISCO

NEW YORK'S MOST CONVENIENT HOTEL

Hotel Continental

Broadway at Forty-first St.
NEW YORK CITY

Within 5 minutes of the Grand Central and Pennsylvania depots. In the heart of the shopping district. Surrounded by forty theatres. Up to date in every respect. 300 rooms, each with private bath.

SINGLE, $2.50, $3.00, $3.50 and $4.

DOUBLE, $4.50, $5.00, $5.50, $6.00 and $7.00.

Headquarters for Labor Organizations

HENRY S. DUNCAN,
Managing Director.

McDougall-Duluth Co.

Steel Ship Builders

DULUTH, MINNESOTA

Your Food Makes Your Health

—if it contains the valuable vitamines so essential to proper nutrition. But ten chances to one, your diet lacks that element.

"Safety first" suggests that you take

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST

—the tested, fresh yeast approved and recommended by doctors. Two or three cakes a day, taken plain or in water, milk or fruit juices, assures you more zest, more life.

Leave a standing order at your grocer's for fresh yeast every day

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor

Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

1921

Contents for December

Education, Civilization's Only Hope 1005
By G. W. PERKINS

A Magnificent Proposal 1008

Progress in Research 1009

The Strong Right Arm (Cartoon) 1010

EDITORIALS:

By SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor*

A Christmas Story, Not Quite so Merry 1011

The Unemployment Conference Results 1012

Capitalist Strike Definition—Orderly Marketing 1018

Anti-Volstead-Beveridge 1020

Important Developments Affecting Labor in Foreign Lands:

Dismissal of Workmen in the New German Labor Legislation 1022
By L. KRAUSE

Recent Italian Social Legislation 1024
By GUERRIERO RAGAZZONI

How the Union Shop Really Works—The Story of a Veteran Foreman 1028

Official 1031

Correspondence 1033

Report of Legislative Committee 1036

What Our Organizers Are Doing 1042

Official monthly magazine, devoted to the interests and voicing the demands of the trade union movement. Published by THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR at 9th St. and Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C. Correspondents will please address SAMUEL GOMPERS, Editor, Washington, D. C.

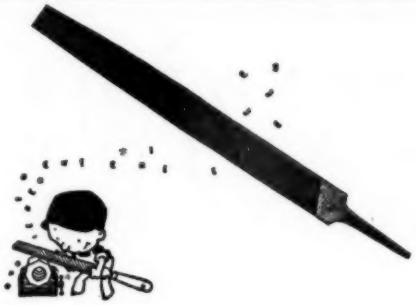
All communications relating to finances and subscriptions should be addressed to FRANK MORRISON, Secretary Washington, D. C.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time. The editor will not be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. The American Federation of Labor is not sponsor for nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.

Entered at Washington, D. C., post office as second-class matter. Accept for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 11, 1918.

Executive Council, A. F. of L.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice-President.
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE, Second Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY, Third Vice-President.
WILLIAM GREEN, Fourth Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON, Fifth Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Sixth Vice-President.
JACOB FISCHER, Seventh Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Treasurer.
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary



"As hard as fire and water can make them"

—The Disston file-maker

Disston makes between sixteen and eighteen million files a year. Some weigh a tiny fraction of an ounce. Others 135 lbs. Some are for a lady's fingernails. Some for gigantic chunks of steel.

The supreme test of a good file is in filing the teeth of saws—steel cutting steel. And nearly a half-million Disston Files are used yearly in making Disston Saws—"the saws most carpenters use." No wonder Disston Files eat through the work in quick time! No wonder the experienced filer enjoys the feel of a Disston File as it bites into the toughest metal!

Disston Files are Disston-made from the steel to the packing case. They are of good, true steel, "as hard as fire and water can make them."

DISSTON

Send for new free booklet, "The File in History."

HENRY DISSTON & SONS, Inc.

PHILADELPHIA, U. S. A.

A List of What Disston Makes

And in these Saws, Tools and Files is that quality found in

"The Saw Most Carpenters Use"

Back Saws
Band Saws for Wood and Metal
Bevels

Buck Saws
Butcher Saws and Blades
Circular Saws for Wood, Metal, and Slate
Compass Saws
Cross-cut Saws and Tools
Cylinder Saws
Drag Saw Blades

Files and Rasps
Grooving Saws
Gauges—Carpenters' Marking, etc.
Hack Saw Blades
Hack Saw Frames
Hand, Panel, and Rip Saws
Hedge Shears

Ice Saws
Inserted Tooth Circular Saws
Keyhole Saws
Kitchen Saws
Knives—Cane, Corn, Hedge
Knives—Circular for Cork, Cloth, Leather, Paper, etc.
Knives—Machine
Levels—Carpenters' and Masons'
Machetes
Mandrels

Milling Saws for Metal
Mitre-box Saws
Mitre Rods
One-man Cross-cut Saws
Plumbs and Levels
Plumbers' Saws
Pruning Saws
Re-saws
Saw Clamps and Filing Guides

Saw Gummers
Saw-sets
Saw Screws
Screw Drivers
Screw-slotting Saws
Segment Saws
Shingle Saws
Slate Saws—Circular
Squares—Try and Mitre

Stave Saws
Sugar Beet Knives
Swages
Tools for Repairing Saws
Tool Steel
Trowels—Brick, Plastering, Pointing, etc.
Veneering Saws
Webs—Turning and Felloe

This is a partial list. There are thousands of items in the complete Disston line.

DISSTON

SAWS TOOLS FILES

TODD SHIPYARDS CORPORATION

WORLD'S LARGEST
SHIP REPAIR
ORGANIZATION

PLANTS

ROBINS DRY DOCK & REPAIR COMPANY
Erie Basin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

TIETJEN & LANG DRY DOCK COMPANY
Hoboken, N. J.

TEBO YACHT BASIN COMPANY
Foot of 23rd Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

CLINTON DRY DOCKS, INC.
Foot of Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

WHITE FUEL OIL ENGINEERING CORP.
Mechanical Oil Burning Systems
742 East 12th Street, New York City

TODD DRY DOCK & CONSTRUCTION CORP.
Tacoma, Washington

TODD DRY DOCKS, INC.
Harbor Island, 16th Ave. S. W., Seattle, Wash.

TWENTY-ONE FLOATING DOCKS—TWO GRAVING DOCKS—TWELVE SHIPWAYS

Main Office, 25 Broadway New York

Cable
Robin, New York

Telephone
Bowling Green 6900

Lights and Shadows

Mr. A. P. Johnson, Publisher of the News, Grand Rapids, Michigan, in his issue of October 13 prints the following:

PRODUCTIVE ADVERTISING

There are three "Bewares" in the primer of every editor, reporter and aspiring newspaper worker Where they came from we don't know and we know less of what they mean to convey. They are, "Beware of religion; beware of saying anything good about big corporations; beware of mentioning advertisers except when they pay for it." Readers of this newspaper know where it stands on religion and corporations. We are for them when they do more good than harm. We oppose them when they oppose human progress and retard human happiness.

This is about both a corporation and an advertiser—a big advertiser, the Standard Oil Company. A great change has come over the Standard Oil Company in recent years. It is no longer afraid of its own shadow. It is no longer afraid to tell who owns it, what its business methods are, what its products are and what it hopes to do. The story is being told in friendly and unfriendly papers without fear or favor, embarrassment or compunction in paid advertising space.

Of course a newspaper would naturally agree to this method of publicity. But we are not thinking of the dollars just now. We are thinking of how much further we would have progressed in the solution of many of our economic and industrial difficulties if more light had been thrown upon the inner workings of the offensives and defensives in such disputes as involve the public at large.

The series of advertisements which have been and are being published by the Standard Oil Company have become economic arguments which carry a message. We are not so pleased with them but what we realize that they put the company's best foot forward. To what extent they have sold gasoline is a matter for their advertising department to decide, but it is certain that they have sold to the public a large measure of good will which the Standard Oil Company did not possess not so very long ago.

Having committed this breach of saying something good about an advertiser, we will now shut our eyes and wait for the catastrophe that is bound to occur according to the law of primeval journalism.

THE above editorial is refreshing to those who are responsible for the policies of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana).

When in October, 1918, the present management of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) took charge of the business, one of the first things it decided was that the public should be given intimate information regarding the Company and its affairs. Those responsible for the management knew that the policies that had animated this organization for many years were policies which benefited stockholders, employes, and the public, and that these policies could not but meet the approval of the people generally, for they were based on fair dealing, justice and equity.

The result of this decision was the authorization of a wide-spread publicity campaign, which has been carried on for about three years, and the proof of its effectiveness is to be seen not only in the not infrequent mention being made by the newspapers of the country in editorials such as the one written by Mr. Johnson, quoted above, but in the better understanding on the part of the public of what the Company is trying to do.

The basic principle upon which the business of the Standard Oil Company (Indiana) is built is to provide the individual, wherever he may live in the 11 states served by this Company, with such products of petroleum as he may need, and to get them to him when he wants them and at a price which is fair alike to the stockholders, the public, and the competitor.

Standard Oil Company
(Indiana)
910 South Michigan Ave. Chicago, Ill.

AT least seventy million hands and thirty-five million faces are washed three or more times every day with Ivory Soap.

A simple matter to be sure,—this keeping the hands and face feeling and looking right—a mere part of the day's routine,—yet when you stop to think of it, how well it proves the all-round excellence of Ivory Soap and its all-round suitability for bath, toilet, shampoo, nursery and fine laundry.

Only a soap that leaves *nothing* to be desired could become so fixed a part of our daily lives. Let just one of Ivory's qualities be lacking and it soon would be classed as simply another soap among the many that may claim the honor of our acquaintance temporarily but not our life-long every-day friendship.

In Ivory is found every one of the seven qualities that soap should have to be safe and efficient—and must have to be *permanently* acceptable for any and all uses. Abundant lather, easy rinsing, mildness, purity, whiteness, fragrance, "it floats"—no one can ask more of soap, no one should be satisfied with less.

COPYRIGHT 1921 BY THE PROCTER & GAMBLE CO., CINCINNATI

IVORY SOAP IVORY IT FLOATS 99 44/100% PURE

STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY)

Manufacturers and Refiners of all grades of Petroleum Products

The vast organization and scope of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), are a guarantee of perfect petroleum products, perfectly refined and honestly labeled. Raw materials of the best quality that the world affords go into Standard Oil Products.

They include the following:

Gasoline
Illuminating Oil
Cylinder Oils and Stocks
Paraffine and Neutral Oils
Lubricants and Greases
Refined and Crude Scale Wax
Candles and Specialties
Road Binders and Paving Asphalts
Fuel Oil, Gas Oil and Bunker Fuel Oil
Also a full line of Oil Stoves, Heaters and Lamps

• • •

Measuring and Non-Measuring Storage Tanks

• • •

Pumps for Gasoline and Oils for Garage, Railroad and Factory Use

26 Broadway New York U. S. A.

Rock Island Lines

ROCK ISLAND is the shortest line from St. Paul and Minneapolis to Des Moines and Kansas City; from Kansas City to Denver and El Paso. Shortest and only through line between the east and Colorado Springs. ROCK ISLAND LINES in connection with El Paso & Southwestern and Southern Pacific form the shortest route to the California coast. Union Station facilities at the large terminal points. All through trains equipped with all-steel cars. Famous ROCK ISLAND dining-car meals. Avail yourself of ROCK ISLAND advantages on your next journey.

Route of the "Rocky Mountain Limited" to Colorado
"Golden State Limited" to California

Rock Island

COMFORT and COURTESY are your fellow travelers on the ROCK ISLAND

Ask any Rock Island agent for information or address L. M. ALLEN, Vice-President and Passenger Traffic Manager, Rock Island Lines, Chicago, Ill.

Ingersoll-Rand

Air Compressors
Condensers
Turbo Blowers
Rock Drilling Machinery
Oil Engines
Pneumatic Tools

BRANCH OFFICES AND SERVICE STATIONS
THE WORLD OVER

Ingersoll-Rand Company

GENERAL OFFICES
11 BROADWAY NEW YORK

INCo
MOnel metal

WITHSTANDS

—SUPERHEATED STEAM
—ALKALIES
—HIGH TEMPERATURES
—MOST ACIDS
—RUST
—CORROSION

MONEL Metal is the name given to a line of metal products produced by The International Nickel Company from a natural alloy, 67 per cent nickel, 28 per cent copper and 5 per cent other metals. These products include MONEL blocks, MONEL rods, MONEL castings, MONEL wire, MONEL sheets, MONEL strip stock, etc. The name MONEL identifies the natural nickel alloy produced by The International Nickel Company.

MONEL Metal can be machined, cast, forged, rolled, drawn, brazed, soldered and welded.

INCO products assure the purchaser of uniformity and highest quality. These include INCO MONEL Metal, INCO Nickel and INCO Nickel Salts.

The International Nickel Co.

67 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

no matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this UNION STAMP.

All shoes without the UNION STAMP are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

COLLIS LOVELY, General President
CHARLES L. BAINE, General Secretary-Treasurer
246 Summer Street - Boston, Mass.

Christmas

Filled U.S. Stamp books will obtain many extra gifts. You will spend no extra money. Try it!

The Sperry & Hutchinson Co.

NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION

Camden, New Jersey

A
MODERN
SHIPYARD
WITH
UP-TO-DATE
EQUIPMENT

Labor's Record Complete!

Every fact about the American labor movement, from the beginning to the present, is ready for you in the official

History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book

GREATEST LABOR RECORD EVER PUBLISHED.

This book contains 520,000 words. It contains the complete record of Labor's official action on every issue that has arisen since the beginning of American Labor history. Every student should have it. No teacher is properly equipped without it. Every labor man and woman will find it a mine of information and a help in the handling of current questions.

Send Your Order Today.

THE PRICE: $2 NET.

Every order will be filled promptly.

American Federation of Labor

Washington, D. C.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.* FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

Send all orders to the Secretary.

AMERICAN
DYEWOOD COMPANY

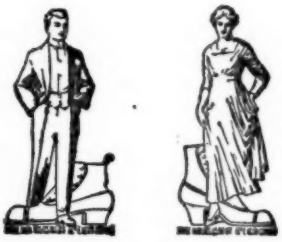
Full Lines of

Direct Colors Sulphur Colors
Developed Colors

Natural Colors
Cutch Bark Fustic Logwood

Ask for our Specialties in Fast to Light Direct Colors

AMERICAN DYEWOOD COMPANY
NEW YORK PHILADELPHIA
BOSTON HAMILTON, ONT.
Works at CHESTER, PA.



WALK-OVER SHOES
for Men and Women

Walk-Over Stores or Agencies Everywhere

Geo. E. Keith Company
Campello (Brockton), Mass.

The Monotype has done more to lighten the burdens of those working in composing rooms of printing offices than any other thing. Ask them!

The American Federationist is entirely the product of the Monotype. Note the easy reading.

LANSTON
MONOTYPE MACHINE COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Warning to Advertisers!

Protect yourself from being defrauded. Read the following Report of the Executive Council and action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Scranton, Pa., on December 14, 1901, in reference to DECEPTIVE PUBLICATIONS:

A NUMBER of souvenir books have been published in which the name of the American Federation of Labor has been used without authority or sanction of any kind from either the American Federation of Labor or its officers. The good name of our movement is thereby impaired, the interests of our fellow-workers injured and fair-minded business men imposed upon and deceived. During the year we have endeavored to impress upon all that the only publication in which advertisements are received is our official monthly magazine, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST; and we have also endeavored to influence a more straightforward course by those who have transgressed in the direction indicated. In this particular we have not been as successful as we should be pleased to be enabled to report to you. However, we are more concerned with the future than the past; and in order to be helpful in eliminating this cause of grievous complaint, we make the following recommendations:

FIRST—That we shall insist that no body of organized labor, nor shall any person issue a souvenir book claiming that such book or any other publication is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

SECOND—That any city chosen by a convention of the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention following shall not directly or indirectly through its Central Labor Union or otherwise issue a souvenir book claiming that such book is issued for or on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

THIRD—That in the event of any such souvenir book being projected or about to be issued, directly or indirectly, by the Central Labor body in the city in which the convention was selected to be held, in violation of the letter and spirit of these recommendations, the Executive Council may change the city in which the convention is to be held to the one which received the next highest number of votes for that honor.

FOURTH—That the Executive Council is hereby directed to prosecute any person or persons in the courts who shall in any way issue souvenir books, directories, or other publications in which the name of the American Federation of Labor is used as publisher, owner or beneficiary.

FIFTH—*That it be again emphasized that the* AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST *is the official monthly magazine of the* American Federation of Labor, *and is the only publication in which advertisements are received.*

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A. F. OF L.

Report of Committee to Convention on the Above Report.

Perhaps there has been no more prolific source of dishonesty perpetrated in the name of organized labor than that involved in the publication of souvenir books. Unscrupulous projectors have victimized merchants and other friends of the movement in a most shameful fashion, and your committee heartily agrees with the strictures of the Executive Council upon the subject. We emphatically agree with the suggestions offered as a remedy and recommend their adoption. As an additional means to this end we would recommend that there be published in a conspicuous place in each issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST a notice to the effect that *the American Federation of Labor is not sponsor nor interested in any souvenir publication of any kind.*

Adopted by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 14, 1901.

The
Kent Manufacturing Company
Clifton Heights, Pa.

Established 1843

Manufacturers of
Blankets, Woolen Goods and Worsted Yarns

Waking Up the Public to Giving the Painter a Square Deal

ALL of the Breinig Brothers' advertising and all the weight of the Breinig Brothers' organization are directed toward increasing the property owners' respect for good, honest paint and good, honest workmanship.

BREINIG BROTHERS, INC.
HOBOKEN, N. J.
Varnishes, Enamels and Paints for Lasting Beauty and Protection

THE J. G. WHITE ENGINEERING CORPORATION
ENGINEERS AND CONTRACTORS
43 EXCHANGE PLACE - - NEW YORK

YORK SAFE AND LOCK COMPANY
Safes and Vaults
FACTORY - - - - YORK, PA.

STANDARD SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION
Builders of standard cargo steamships of 7,300 dead-weight tons.

Length:	Beam:	Draft:
392′-6″	52′	23′-8″

Classification: Lloyd's 100-A1

OFFICE: **44 Whitehall Street New York City**
SHIPYARD: **Shooter's Island Richmond Boro New York City**

WILKES-BARRE LACE M'F'G. CO.
WILKES-BARRE, PA.

TROJAN POWDER COMPANY
Allentown, Pa. **San Francisco, Cal.**
Manufacturers of
HIGH EXPLOSIVES
For All Kinds of

Quarry Operations
Mining Operations
Land Clearing
Excavating and Construction Work
Agricultural Purposes

Magazines and Distributing points in all important consuming localities

Mills at Seiple, Pa.; Robert, Cal.

The
Hanson & Van Winkle Co.
Manufacturers of
Electro-Plating Materials

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
CHICAGO, ILL. NEW YORK
DETROIT, MICH. CLEVELAND, OHIO

MERCHANT SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION

Successor to

CHESTER SHIPBUILDING CO., LTD.

Founded 1871

Built upon the foundation laid by

JOHN ROACH

Father of American shipbuilding and citizen of Chester

A permanent yard, built to live and produce in the days of competition with the world

Proud of its ancestry, proud of the community, proud of its product

Front and Kerlin Sts., Chester, Pa.

HANNA

COAL

PIG IRON

IRON ORE

M. A. HANNA & CO

BUFFALO CLEVELAND DETROIT
CINCINNATI PITTSBURG TORONTO

LINEN, Every Strand,

has found true prestige in wonderfully thick woven

KlearflaX LINEN RUGS

and Carpeting

The character and quality of these All-Linen floor coverings are always impressive and the cost so unusually low.

A Klearflax interior is one that is ideal and gives you unlimited service.

Rare indeed is the floor covering that is reversible, dust-resisting, moth-proof, and at the same time so decorative!

For your choosing from the leading dealer are found these Linen Rugs and Carpets in their nine colors of such one tone softness and beauty.

KLEARFLAX LINEN RUG COMPANY
DULUTH, MINN.

Compagnie Generale Transatlantique

French Line

Weekly Departures

NEW YORK — HAVRE — PARIS

Direct route to all continental points.

Fast Postal and Express Steamers

Experienced travelers recognize the superior service offered by the

French Line

Company's office

19 State St. New York, N. Y.

Agents Everywhere

CAPT. J. J. FLEET
SUPERINTENDENT

THE
ASSOCIATED OPERATING
COMPANY

Pier 3, Bush Docks BROOKLYN, N. Y.

EUROPE
and
SOUTH AMERICA
Regular Sailings
The Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.
The Pacific Steam Navigation Co.
SANDERSON & SON, Agents
26 Broadway New York
117 W. Washington St., Chicago, or Local Agents

High-Grade Lubricants
CYLINDER OILS ENGINE OILS
DYNAMO OILS TURBINE OILS
MOTOR OILS AND GREASES
CREW LEVICK
111 North Broad Street
PHILADELPHIA

MULBERRY 2675

James A. Coe & Co.
Iron and Steel

395-401 Washington St., Newark, N. J.

BYLLESBY ENGINEERING & MANAGEMENT CORPORATION

208 South La Salle Street
CHICAGO NEW YORK
SAN DIEGO TACOMA

MARATHON PRODUCTS

TRANSCONTINENTAL OIL COMPANY
Producers, Refiners and Marketers of
Marathon Gasoline — Lubricating Oils
"Best in the long run"
EXECUTIVE OFFICES - - - BENEDUM-TREES BLDG., PITTSBURGH, PA.

Peabody Coal Company
CHICAGO
Founded 1883

Operating
Thirty-six Mines in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Wyoming, with annual capacity of 18,000,000 tons.

THE FOUNDATION COMPANY
ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION

An Organization of experienced men, equipped with modern plant, prepared to undertake work in any part of the country.

120 Liberty Street New York
Offices in Principal Cities

PEJEPSCOT PAPER COMPANY

MANUFACTURERS OF PULP, PAPER AND LUMBER

PEJEPSCOT MILL
BOWDOIN MILL
LISBON FALLS MILL
TOPSHAM MILL
GREAT SALMON RIVER MILL
MARTINS HEAD MILL
COOKSHIRE MILL
SAWYERVILLE MILL

OFFICES: BRUNSWICK, MAINE
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

SPECIAL NOTICE
to
MARINE MECHANICS
of
ALL TRADES

It is the desire of this Company to have on record the names and permanent addresses of first-class marine mechanics of every trade; it is our policy to refer to our applications on file, when in need of help, before using other methods to secure tradesmen needed.

When making application state fully name, address, age, nationality, experience, where employed last four years.

Send all applications to Employment Department.

SUN SHIPBUILDING CO.
Chester, Pa.

Diamond State Fibre Co.

Makers of Hard and Flexible Vulcanized Fibre, Sheets, Rods, Tubes and Specialties.

BRIDGEPORT PENNSYLVANIA

Sweet-Orr & Co., Inc.

Manufacturers of Union-Made
OVERALLS, TROUSERS
and WORK SHIRTS

15 Union Square, New York City

THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE

Why?

Because the principles of Penn, its founder, are its cherished traditions—freedom and fair play.

Because it is the city of homes—more families in Philadelphia own their own homes than in any other city.

It is our pride that Philadelphia Electric service has added much to Philadelphia homes by making possible for them the comfort, efficiency and economy of electric labor-savers.

THE PHILADELPHIA ELECTRIC CO.

CHARLES COOPER & CO.
ESTABLISHED 1857

Manufacturing Chemists

194 Worth Street - New York City

Save the Surface

Paints, Varnishes, Muresco

New York Chicago Cleveland

Use Moore Paint

Benj. Moore & Co.

St. Louis Carteret Toronto

GARLOCK

Branch Offices and Stores in All Principal Cities

MAIN OFFICES AND FACTORY:
PALMYRA - - - N. Y.

PACKINGS

THE GARLOCK PACKING COMPANY

BALLOONS
FOR ALL PURPOSES

FOR ADVERTISING, imprinted with firm name, address or slogan, if desired.
FOR SOUVENIR, imprinted with resort name and place.
FOR PREMIUMS, plain or imprinted as desired.
We manufacture many different types of balloons, including balloon with valve stem.

Howe Baumann Balloon Company
187-191 MURRAY ST. NEWARK, N. J.

UNITED STATES SMELTING
Refining and Mining Company

Executive Offices: 55 Congress Street, BOSTON
Sales Office: - 120 Broadway, NEW YORK

BUYERS OF Gold, Silver, Lead, Lead and Zinc Concentrating Ores, Matte and Furnace Products
PRODUCERS AND SELLERS OF Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Zinc, Arsenic, Zinc Dust, Cadmium, Insecticides, and Fungicides
REFINERS OF Lead Bullion.

OPERATING OFFICES: Salt Lake City, Utah; Kennett, Cal.; Goldroad, Ariz.; Baxter Springs, Kan.; Eureka, Colo.; New York City, and Pachuca, Mexico.

Igoe Brothers

Manufacturers of

REINFORCEMENT AND FIREPROOFING
REINFORCEMENTS AND FIREPROOFING
MATERIALS

Round, Square, Square Twisted Bars, American Triangular Wire Mesh, Expanded Metal, Wire and Metal Lath, Metal Building Accessories, Hy-Rib Steelcrete, Corner Bead, Wainwright Curb Bar.

Newark, N. J. New York City Brooklyn, N. Y.

BERTHA SERVICE

BERTHA COAL COMPANY

General Offices
Chamber of Commerce Building
PITTSBURG

NEW YORK BUFFALO DETROIT CLEVELAND

General Equipment Co.
INC.
30 Church Street, New York City

Locomotives, Flat Cars, Passenger Coaches, Steam Shovels, Locomotive Cranes, Dragline Excavators, Power Plant Equipment, Contractors' and Railway Equipment.

ELECTRO DYNAMIC CO.
BAYONNE, N. J.

Pioneer Manufacturers of Direct Current Electrical Machinery

INTER-POLE Motors are the most efficient for all kinds of electric drives. Constant speed and adjustable speed motors with speed ratio up to 1 to 6. All standard voltages. Ring Oiler or Ball Bearings.

Manufacturers of Alternating Current Electrical Machinery

BALL BEARING INDUCTION MOTORS of superior quality and design are manufactured by us and we solicit your enquiries on all types of A. C. and D. C. Motors and Generators.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

American Federationist
Monthly Magazine of the A. F. of L. 10 cents a copy; $1.00 a year

A. F. of L. Weekly Newsletter
Official Proceedings of the A. F. of L. Conventions
25 cents a copy

Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor
Per copy, 5c; 100, $3.00.

Industrial Unionism in Its Relation to Trade Unionism
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

National Association of Manufacturers Exposed; Revelations of Senate Lobby Investigation
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

Initiative, Referendum and Recall
By EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, American Federation of Labor

The American Labor Movement; Its Makeup, Achievements and Aspirations
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. 5 cents per copy; 100, $3.00

Trade Unions To Be Smashed Again
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Socialist Methods Versus Trade Union Methods
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Labor and Its Attitude Toward Trusts
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Essence of Labor's Contention on the Injunction Abuse
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Eight Hours—The Workers and the Eight-Hour Workday and the Shorter Workday—Its Philosophy
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5c; 100, $3.00.

The Eight-Hour Workday; Its Inauguration, Enforcement and Influences
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

What Does Labor Want?
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Organized Labor; Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

No Compulsory Arbitration
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Open Shop Editorials
By SAMUEL GOMPERS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, Budapest, Hungary, International Trades Convention, August 10-12, 1911
By JAMES DUNCAN

Report of A. F. of L. Delegate, International Federation of Trade Unions, Zurich, Switzerland, September 16-18, 1913
By G. W. PERKINS

Justice Wright's Denial of Free Speech and Free Press
By SAMUEL GOMPERS

Dissenting Opinion by Mr. Chief Justice Shepard in the Contempt Case of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison vs. Buck's Stove and Range Company

History of Trade Unions
By WM. TRANT, M. A.; with a sketch of the National and International Unions of America. By P. J. MCGUIRE. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, 75 cents; 100, $5.00

Philosophy of Trade Unions
By DYER D. LUM. Per copy, 10 cents; dozen, $1.00; 100, $9.00

The Eight-Hour Primer
The Fact, Theory, and the Argument. By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement
By GEORGE GUNTON. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

The Philosophy of the Eight-Hour Movement
By LEMUEL DANRYID. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Has the Non-Unionist a Moral Right to Work How, When and Where He Pleases?
By FRANK K. FOSTER. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Trade Union Epigrams
Some Reasons for the Faith That is Within Us. By WALTER MACARTHUR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

The Philosophy of the Labor Movement
By GEORGE E. MCNEILL. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen 50 cents, 100, $4.00

What Labor Could Do
By JOHN SWINTON; with "Economic Conferences" by WILLIAM SALTER, and a letter of HON. AMOS J. CUMMINGS. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100 $4.00

The Safety of the Future Lies in Organized Labor
By HENRY D. LLOYD. (In English or German.) Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Industrial Education
Consisting of an Investigation and Report by a Competent Special Committee; Reports of Officers and Committees; Action of A. F. of L. Convention; The Attitude of Organized Labor and Others Toward the Problem; A Glossary of Definitions, etc.; Labor's Bill for Congressional Enactment. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, $2.00; 100, $15.00

Universal Education
By SENATOR HENRY W. BLAIR. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Why We Unite
Per copy, 2 cents; dozen, 20 cents; 100, $1.50

The Union Label; Its History and Aims
Prize Essays, by WALTER MACARTHUR, P. H. SHELVIN and CHAS. D. HEMMING. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $3.00

Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion
Published December, 1901, by the American Federation of Labor, being a comprehensive review of the whole question. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

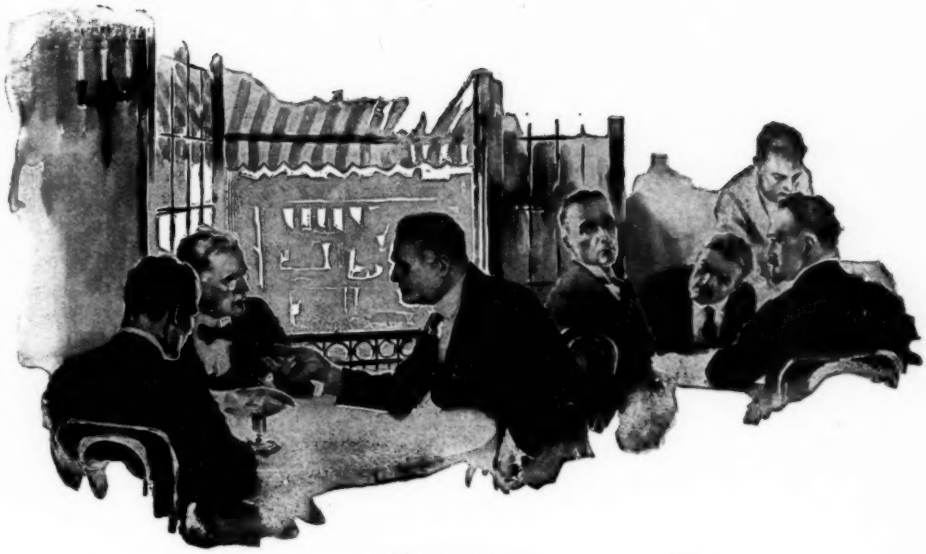
An Open Letter to Ministers of the Gospel
Issued by the American Federation of Labor. Per copy, 5 cents; dozen, 50 cents; 100, $4.00

Tuberculosis Movement Inaugurated and Plan Adopted by the A. F. of L. to War on Consumption

Statement and Evidence in Support of Petition and Charges Presented to the President of the United States Against the U. S. Steel Corporation by the A. F. of L.

Buck's Stove and Range Company Injunction Suit and Contempt Proceedings
A compilation of the Reports of the Executive Council and President Gompers to the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, November 8-20, 1909, together with the Report of the Committee on President's Report, and Vice-President Mitchell's Address, etc. Per copy, 25 cents; dozen, $2.00; 100, $15.00

Books and other publications on Labor and Sociological subjects furnished at publishers' rates.



"I Hear . . ."

Millions of dollars each year are needlessly lost because of the whisper—

"I hear it is a good investment."

Through our 50 offices we "hear" thousands of such reports. Many are worthless.

Hearsay offers a broad road to mis-investment and loss.

To guide investors who want carefully weighed information, we maintain offices in the leading cities of the country and 10,000 miles of private wires.

Today, liberal returns may be had from well chosen securities. Look for them on our current list. Sent on request for AV-170.

BONDS
SHORT TERM NOTES
ACCEPTANCES

The National City Company

National City Bank Building, New York

Offices in more than 50 leading cities throughout the World

SINCLAIR OILS

SINCLAIR REFINING COMPANY

CHICAGO **NEW YORK**

THE EAGLE-PICHER LEAD COMPANY

Corroders by the Old Dutch Process of White Lead and Manufacturers of Sublimed White Lead and Blue Lead, Lead Oxides, Pig Lead, Plumbers' Lead Goods and Spelter.

THE large output of our own mines and manufacturing plants and the wide distribution of our branch offices and warehouses make possible a prompt and efficient service to our customers.

THE EAGLE-PICHER LEAD COMPANY

208 South La Salle Street Chicago, Illinois

All Principal Cities

ARROW

CIGARETTES

They Hit the Spot

MANUFACTURED BY THE MAKERS OF MAIL POUCH WHEELING WEST VA.

20 for 15 Cents